

though the House of Representatives in December, 1872. I found there Mr. HARMER, and soon made his acquaintance. Circumstances connected me with the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and I found Mr. HARMER one of the most generous, energetic, and kindly supporters of that great enterprise. Indeed, for that matter, nobody in Philadelphia—that noble city, the birthplace and home of the Declaration of Independence, which made her famous all over the world—was anything else.

The remarkable list of offices which Mr. HARMER held shows that he was not only respected, but that he must also have been loved.

He was broad-shouldered physically, mentally, and morally. He did not profess to be brilliant. It was not needed that he should profess to be an honest and just man, a man of integrity and true generosity. That was evident to all who knew him.

I do not know that I care to expand longer upon the peculiarities of Mr. HARMER. In one sense he was not a man of peculiarities. He resembled in some respects men of the general class of George Washington—men of great, broad common sense, who did not profess to be showy, who were not showy, and did not attempt to impress the world by their language or their manner.

Mr. HARMER was at the same time a man of patriotism as warm as that of Abraham Lincoln. He went through life discharging every duty and leaving behind him a memory that must be most grateful to his family and to all his friends. Certainly those of us who have been in Congress for twenty-five years or twenty-six years will remember him with very great respect and pleasure.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. President, ALFRED C. HARMER entered the House of Representatives shortly after the close of the great civil war. He entered the Chamber of the other House when James G. Blaine was Speaker. Many of the distinguished men named by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY] were members of that House of that Congress, and of the Congresses succeeding for a dozen years. There had been upon the roll of membership men of conspicuous ability, men whose services the country can never forget, and whose names can not be omitted from any well-written history of their time.

The period following 1870 was a trying period for this country. The civil war had left the country in a distracted condition. The painful process of reconstructing the States which had been engaged in rebellion was then in progress; the currency of the country was inflated; the industrial life of the country in a demoralized condition. There was some doubt being expressed among the wise men of Europe as to whether our country could completely recover from the terrible shock of war. Passions ran high; violent expressions were frequently heard in both Chambers of Congress; men at times ceased to reason and elected to rage; motives were questioned on all sides.

In the midst of conditions like this, Mr. HARMER entered Congress from the State of Pennsylvania. He was a quiet and a discreet man. Through the influence exerted by such men as Mr. HARMER, rather than through the lofty and frequently impassioned declamation of men who shone more brilliantly, good results were evolved from unpromising conditions.

He lived to see the country increase from thirty-eight and one-half millions population in 1870 to a population of seventy-six and one-half millions in 1900. The country's population had doubled during the period of his service in Congress. He had witnessed the complete conquest of the continent from one ocean to the other. Subjected frequently to stormy and harsh criticism, he had sustained, as he thought was wise and well, the various measures under which the country's deliverance came from the unhappy conditions surrounding it at the time of his entrance upon his Congressional career. He lived to see the country, at that time disunited in sentiment, completely reunited in sentiment. He lived to see the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray stand shoulder to shoulder and side by side against the common enemy, fighting together in defending the common flag of the common country.

He happily lived to see those who questioned in 1870 the possibility of the complete reuniting of all sections of the country concede in 1900 that the Union was complete; and in so conceding uniting with all their brethren in its defense.

The discreet men, I think, have done more to advance the cause of good government than the brilliant men of the world. The world's workers, those who actually accomplish results, are little known in history. We have all perceived in public life the potent influence of the quiet, silent, persistent, industrious man. I would not disparage, nor would I belittle the gift of oratory or fluency of speech, but would somewhat detract from the magnifying of those gifts so often possessed to a superlative degree; and in gazing upon the brilliant and showy side of mankind the meritorious and effective body of men are frequently overlooked.

ALFRED C. HARMER was a member of the Fifty-first Congress. He had been a member of several Congresses preceding that. I entered the Fifty-first Congress as a member from a new State in the autumn of 1889. My acquaintance with Mr. HARMER during my

Congressional experience in the House ripened into a most agreeable, pleasant, and friendly relationship. The quiet, forceful manner and capacity for bringing about net results, without unusual or unnecessary disturbance, would quickly impress anybody who became acquainted with the man or his methods. Pure in thought, lofty in purpose, always patriotic, he gave forth an influence alike beneficial to his constituents and to his associates in the House of Representatives.

Immortality, the Senator from Mississippi well suggests, is consciously or unconsciously conceded the wide world over wherever intelligent beings exist. But there is another kind of immortality than that which attaches to the soul, that immortality which is inseparable from the influence of good deeds. As a pebble cast into the midst of the sea will send a wave to every shore, so a good life well spent will give rise to an influence destined to affect the world in greater or less degree to the remotest period of recorded time.

In this sense, sir, ALFRED C. HARMER has achieved immortality amongst men. His life was blameless, his service to his country faithful, and when that life closed there was naught deeply to regret. He had lived full three-quarters of a century, and had contributed in honorable, manly, and noble fashion to the full measure of his ability to the betterment of his kind and the glory of his country.

The resolutions having been previously adopted, the Senate (at 6 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, February 11, 1901, at 11 o'clock a. m.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, February 9, 1901.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE MONONGAHELA RIVER IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill (S. 5775) to authorize the Glassport Bridge Company to construct and maintain a bridge across the Monongahela River in the State of Pennsylvania. The bill was read at length.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, this is a Senate bill, identical in terms with a House bill already reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It is an ordinary bridge bill and carries no appropriation. It is in the usual form of such bills and has been approved by the Secretary of War.

I move to discharge the Committee on Interstate Commerce from the consideration of the bill and put this Senate bill upon its passage.

There was no objection.

The question was taken; and the bill S. 5775 was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. DALZELL, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the House bill corresponding to this be laid upon the table.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

LAWS APPLICABLE TO THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3369) to put in force in the Indian Territory certain provisions of law of Arkansas relating to corporations and to make such provisions applicable.

The Senate amendments were read at length.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House concur in the amendments of the Senate to this bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. McRAE. Mr. Speaker, I believe the gentleman from Kansas failed to make the motion to reconsider.

I move, therefore, to reconsider the vote by which the Senate amendments to the bill were agreed to, and move to lay that motion upon the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

NEW FEDERAL JUDICIAL DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 4345) to create a new federal judicial district in Pennsylvania, to be called the middle district.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read subject to the right of objection.

The bill was read at length.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I object to the present consideration of that bill.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, if in order, I move to suspend the rules and put the bill upon its passage.

The SPEAKER. That motion would not be in order to-day.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. CUNNINGHAM, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following resolution:

House concurrent resolution 82.

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the enrolling clerk of the House be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to correct the enrolled bill (H. R. 9928) entitled "An act granting an increase of pension to H. S. Reed, alias Daniel Hull," by inserting in the enacting clause the word "States" after the word "United."*

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. BAKER, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 9928. An act granting an increase of pension to H. S. Reed, alias Daniel Hull;

H. R. 5048. An act to confirm in trust to the city of Albuquerque, in the Territory of New Mexico, the town of Albuquerque grant, and for other purposes.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. DAVEY for ten days.

#### OSWEGO AND ROME RAILROAD COMPANY.

The SPEAKER. The Chair submits a request for a change of reference from the Committee on Indian Affairs to the Committee on Military Affairs of a bill, the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill (S. 3489) authorizing and empowering the Secretary of War to grant the right of way for, and the right to operate and maintain, a line of railroad through the Fort Ontario Military Reservation, in the State of New York, to the Oswego and Rome Railroad Company.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the change of reference will be made.

There was no objection.

#### BRIDGE ACROSS LITTLE RIVER, ARKANSAS.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 13635) to authorize the construction of a bridge across Little River at or near the mouth of Big Lake, State of Arkansas.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill which the Clerk will report.

The bill was read. It provides that the Jonesboro, Lake City and Eastern Railroad Company, a corporation incorporated under the laws of the State of Arkansas, its successors or assigns, shall have authority to construct, operate, and maintain a drawbridge across Little River, at or near the mouth of Big Lake, in section 9, township 14 north, range 9 east, Mississippi County, in the State of Arkansas.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The amendments recommended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce were read, and agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. McCULLOCH, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE FOR THIS DAY.

The SPEAKER. The Chair designates as Speaker pro tempore for the remainder of this day the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR].

Mr. GROSVENOR took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

#### DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR APPROPRIATION BILL.

And then, on motion of Mr. HITT, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 13850) making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, with Mr. LANDIS in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Chairman, the bill being under general debate, before the consideration of it by paragraphs, if the committee will recognize the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MIERS], he will proceed.

Mr. MIERS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, we have been making history very rapidly during the last three years. Old cruel Spain had put her hand on the people of Cuba, who had been fighting

for their liberty and to be freed from this cruelty, and had almost won their coveted victory when they called upon the American Republic to come to their rescue. When the people of America realized their condition, from every section of the country, from every city, town, and hamlet, came petitions to heed the cry of suffering humanity. Congress, appreciating the condition and the cruelty of the old monarchy, passed the resolution declaring for Cuban independence without a dissenting voice, gave the President of the United States the right to use the Army and the Navy to enforce the decree. Congress also voted \$50,000,000, and placed it at the disposal of the President to be used as he saw fit.

These great galleries around us were packed to overflowing, and they, like the people of the country, cheered this patriotic, humane act to the echo, no one considering what the cost would be, either in life or property, but, like the true American, always ready to respond to the cry of suffering humanity. We had but a small Army and a very insignificant Navy, yet in less than one hundred days the brave American boys bade good-by to father and mother and all that is most dear to American manhood and responded to the call of the President, until we had builded an Army that was ready to do battle for humanity. We also poured the money of the Treasury into the Navy Department and builded a Navy that was ready to go forth in search of the Spanish fleet. I need neither speak of the brilliant victory of Admiral Dewey and his small band of heroes in Manila Bay nor of the bravery, sacrifice, and heroism of the boys at San Juan Hill. We were making history then that was American and of which we were all proud. We were proud to see the Republic of the fathers, that had sprung from English tyranny and was founded on liberty and the spirit of the Golden Rule, freely giving its best lives and expending its money without reward or the hope thereof that another people might be freed from tyranny and given that liberty which is sweet to every American.

Victory that was most complete and glorious was won, and almost without the loss of life. But this victory brought with it responsibilities. Thus far the people were a unit—not a disloyal heart in the whole Union. We had stricken down the Government of Spain in the bay, and the President of the United States extended our authority over the entire Philippine Islands. The question arose, "What shall be the attitude of the Republic to the new possessions?" This involved duty to the Republics as well as to the people of the islands. We had destroyed their Government, were in possession and confronted with the question as to what should be the future policy toward our new possessions. The minority on the floor of this House, backed by the sentiment of Democrats everywhere, insisted that the Republic should be frank and open and declare to the people of the islands and to the world what its policy would be. The majority said it was not time to declare a policy, that we should wait until the people of the islands were conquered, until they were subdued, until they had surrendered all to our Army with which they could defend their rights. The United States was put in the attitude of saying that we were large enough and strong enough to remain, and we will not tell you what we will do—demanding a surrender of everything for which they had been fighting.

This, I submit, if the people of the islands are made of the same kind of stuff Americans are, would tend strongly to arouse all the fight in them. I submit that the position of the Administration was neither just to the people of the islands nor to the spirit of our institutions. Had we stated a policy that was American, based upon a hundred years' experience as a Republic, and said to them, "We came here by force of circumstances while fighting to free an oppressed people. Our responsibility is to protect the people and the property of the islands until you can establish a stable government of your own, one that will protect the people and the property. We will not be the judge of what the form of your government shall be, but only demand that it shall be stable. We advise you, however, to fashion and mold it after the American Republic. When you have established a stable government which would relieve us of our responsibility, we will withdraw our Army and Navy and bring them and the American flag home, and say to cruel Spain, 'You must keep your hands off of this little republic,' and to the nations of the world, 'You shall not pounce down on these people and divide their possessions among yourselves. We intend to see it nurtured, cultivated, and developed into a republic that loves liberty and is controlled by the spirit of the Golden Rule.'"

I believe the people of the islands would have seen the justness of this policy and would have hailed us as their friends and deliverers, and we would have had no war with them. Our Republican friends said to them, "No; we will not even tell you what we are going to do; we demand of you unconditional surrender." At the same time many who were high in the councils of the party, the President himself, said, "Who shall dare haul down the flag?" thereby intimating to them that they never intended to withdraw, and that they intended to make this the gateway of trade to the world. You have the positions contrasted: The Administration



saying that our gateway of trade should be over an unwilling and subjugated people; the Democratic party saying the gateway of trade should be through a little republic, builded, formed, and fashioned after our Republic.

I appeal to the candor of this House. Which appeals to your spirit of Americanism? Do you yet say that you are not ready to state a policy? Are not the taxpayers, who are already carrying a great load; the fathers and mothers who furnished the brave American boys to follow the flag, aye, the boys themselves, entitled to know for what this war is being waged? Would it not be well, now, to state a policy and see if we could not bring to an end this cruel war? As Americans, would we not stand higher in our own estimation and in the estimation of the world? If we could thus bring the war to a close, save the millions of dollars and the thousands of lives and the innumerable heartaches, and do it along the lines laid by the fathers a hundred years ago, should we not do it? Many loyal Americans believe that if the Democratic policy was now adopted the war would be brought to a close within ninety days. But the Administration and the Republican party have declined to state any policy.

The last Republican national platform only said, in substance, we will give the people of the islands such a government as they are capable of enjoying. Who is to be judge of their capability? The Administration, of course; subject, therefore, to the changes of Administrations and to no constitution or declaration by which the policy could be determined. The Administration is driven to the position that the Constitution does not follow the flag; that it is only extended to the islands by an act of Congress. If an act of Congress could carry the Constitution to the islands another act could withdraw it, so that it would simply be an act and not the Constitution at all. Have we indeed outgrown our much-boasted and often-praised Constitution, which defines the right of every citizen so that the humblest may know and have every right guaranteed to him that is given to the strongest and most influential? Is it true, from a Republican standpoint, that we have outgrown the Declaration of Independence that the founders subscribed their names to, pledging their future and their all for the principles therein contained?

Is it no longer true that all government derives its just power from the consent of the governed? But yesterday, during the discussion of this bill, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ADAMS] quoted from the Scripture: "When I was a child I spake as a child; when I grew to manhood I put away childish things." Is it his position and that of the Republican party, that when the fathers of our Republic were fighting for liberty it was for a childish thing; that the Constitution upon which our Republic is based is a childish thing; that the Declaration is a childish thing? I have not so been taught, but have been taught to revere them, and that they are the foundation stones of our beloved Republic. Is it true that the manly thing is to ignore the Constitution, declare the Declaration to be a lie, and establish a gateway of trade over a conquered people? I am glad I am not responsible for this position or for this part of the history written by the Republican Administration. I would rather be responsible for a policy founded on the Constitution and a declaration that every act of the American Republic is measured by the Constitution, every act of the Republic is governed by the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and teach other nations the spirit of liberty, and help them to establish a government like ours.

While we have been making history with reference to our new possessions we have also been making history at home. The Fifty-second Congress appropriated \$1,000,000,000. That Congress was spoken of in derision; everybody admitted its extravagance and demanded a reduction of public expenditures. Yet this Fifty-sixth Congress will appropriate \$1,800,000,000. Who will say this is economy? Who will dare say that I shall not raise my voice and oppose the extravagant appropriations, every dollar of which the Administration is responsible for?

Not only are we making a history of extravagance, but we are making history along the lines of the kind of Government we shall have. From the beginning of the Republic to the close of the war of 1861 there was a policy that controlled the Republic in the interest of State rights and human slavery. A class of loyal, patriotic men believed they had the right to own the liberty and earnings of a man because he was black. They could read the Bible and find a precedent. It was not because they were less humane than other citizens, but because their interests warped their judgments and they were unable to reason correctly.

Now, we go to the other extreme. The doctrine of Alexander Hamilton is again revived, and the doctrine of a strong, centralized government is in control—that a few men shall run the Government and fewer control all the business of the country, until by reason of legislation by the Republican party along that line trusts have been formed by the thousands. We have to-day combinations and trusts controlling stocks of over \$8,000,000,000, not for the purpose of extending trade, not for the purpose of opening new factories and new mines, not for starting the fires in the fur-

naces already in existence, but for closing down factories, putting out the fires in the furnace, turning laboring men out by the thousands to starve or crowd out some other laboring man, in order that the combines and the trusts may control the output of the manufactories and fix the price thereon. This enormous power has taken hold of every business and controls everything that the American people eat or wear or with which the country is developed, until to-day many of the articles manufactured in this country are sold at a higher price at home than they are laid down in the markets of the world.

I am glad, also, that I am not responsible for this history; and I want to say to the majority of this House that if the judgment of men is warped by the greed of gain and they are placed in power and control the Administration, the result on the Republic is quite as disastrous as if it had come from some source less pretentious. No, gentlemen; we must not stand idly by and see this power control the Government, control business, until we have lost our individual rights, until we can no longer say, "Equal and exact justice to all; exclusive privileges to none." It is the duty of the Representatives on the floor of this House not only to oppose such legislation, but to carry the result to the people of the country and make them know where the responsibility lies, for "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"—a price that must be paid or liberty lost. Liberty is not like the weeds of the field that flourish without attention; rather like the precious grain that dies without attention.

Our Republican friends are not content with this history. They now seek to establish a greater monopoly than has ever been heretofore established—to have Congress convened in extraordinary session, if necessary, in order that they may pass what is known as the ship-subsidy bill; vote out of the Treasury as a subsidy to a favored few \$9,000,000 a year for the next twenty years. I desire for a short time to discuss what I believe to be the most vicious bill that has ever been introduced in Congress, and in doing so I do not desire to discuss it particularly from a partisan standpoint.

The evil which is complained of affects us all alike; and I take it for granted that every member of this House, no matter what may be his party affiliations, is honestly and earnestly in favor of the professed objects of this bill. Those objects are: The upbuilding of our merchant marine engaged in foreign trade and the encouragement of our shipbuilding interests. I do not believe there is an American citizen who would not deeply regret the decadence of our shipbuilding enterprises and the diminution of our foreign trade. Any measure which is calculated to cause American ships to increase in number and to cause the American nation to once more resume her proud position as the mistress of the seas would receive the hearty support of every member of this House, and the reasonable cost of achieving so great a result would not for one moment be considered by the patriotic taxpayers of the United States.

If an increase of foreign trade, an increase of American shipbuilding, and an increase in the percentage of our foreign trade carried in American ships can be purchased, then our business instincts would prompt us to close any reasonable deal that could be made.

But the student of this bill will look in vain for any provision which requires the delivery of what we are supposed to buy. It provides for the opening of no new ports; it provides for the establishment of no new lines of steamships; it provides for no reduction in freight rates; it provides for the running of no new ships. It provides, it is true, for the building of new ships, but these ships can be built for less than the subsidy paid, and there is no provision which prevents them from being sold to foreign companies as soon as completed.

If our foreign trade were decreasing, the necessity for some measure which would arrest that decrease would be apparent. But, as a matter of fact, our foreign trade during the past ten years has increased more rapidly than that of any other nation on earth. If our shipbuilding interests were decreasing, the necessity for prompt and efficient measures for the upbuilding of that great line of industry would be plain. Our shipbuilding interests have during the past few years shown the largest percentage of increase they have ever shown. The second largest shipbuilding plant in the world is an American plant. The United States has the second largest merchant navy in the world. When we prescribe remedies in the way of legislation for evils which exist, we must first analyze those evils. In the present case the evil is not in the volume of our foreign trade, nor is it in our shipbuilding industry. Both are in exceedingly healthy condition. The only source of dissatisfaction in connection with our shipping interest is that our foreign trade is conducted to a very large extent by foreign vessels. It is a matter of just pride to every American that the Stars and Stripes should be the most familiar flag in the seaports of the world. It is a matter for regret that our ships are more seldom seen on the ocean highways than they were half a century ago.

The fact that our merchant marine has largely gone out of the



foreign carrying business is due to several causes. The first of these was the decadence of the wooden ship and the substitution of iron vessels. The next cause was that during the civil war our merchants and manufacturers were pushed to extremes in order to supply local demands, and the English merchants and manufacturers, taking advantage of this condition, wrested a large share of the foreign trade from the United States. This brought about a new condition, which prevails to a very considerable extent at the present time. The United States became an exporting and not an importing nation. Its exports were of agricultural products to the extent of three-fourths of the total amount exported. The United States supplied food to all of the nations of Europe. Its imports have decreased from \$16 per capita in 1873 to \$9 per capita in 1899. The exports increased from \$7 per capita to \$16 per capita. The importers of the United States changed their manner of doing business. They had formerly owned their ships and sent those ships to all parts of the world in order to buy goods.

As the nations of Europe were compelled to send their ships to the United States in order to secure food, the importer no longer sent his ships abroad, but remained in his countinghouse and bought his goods from foreign exporters when their ships visited this country. When the European wants grain or other American products, he sends his ships to the United States laden with goods which are not ordered, but which he hopes to sell. He disposes of his cargo, loads his ships with the American goods he wants, and returns to his native country. The New York importer has purchased his goods delivered in New York, the American exporter has sold his goods delivered in New York, and neither the American importer or exporter has any choice in the flag of the ship by which the goods were transported. When Stephen Girard and other noted early merchants in the United States were scouring the world for goods, the American shipping interests were in the same condition as are now the English shipping interests. The English merchant is an importer and not an exporter. The goods he exports are sent for the purpose of exchanging for the goods which he desires to import. That the British subsidy—if subsidy it can be called, it being a mere payment for services rendered—has nothing to do with the success of British shipping is shown conclusively by the fact that less than 10 per cent of the British merchant marine is subsidized. In fact, the vast proportion of the freight of the world is carried on tramp vessels. The United States is a producing country. It produces a vast amount of what it consumes. The nations of Europe are so densely populated that it is impossible for them to produce a sufficient quantity of food products to sustain the population.

The law of self-preservation, therefore, prompts those countries to establish speedy and efficient means of transportation to and from the United States. The United States, upon the other hand, has no incentive to send its grain to Europe, for the reason that the Europeans will send after it. The United States has no incentive to send ships after European goods, because the European merchants and manufacturers will bring those goods to the United States.

The American consuls in foreign countries have, without exception, complained that the United States merchants and manufacturers show an indifference to foreign trade and do not enter into active competition with the merchants and manufacturers of other countries. And yet, notwithstanding this fact, so great is the natural advantage of the United States by reason of its being the largest producing country in the world that our foreign trade grows far more rapidly than does the foreign trade of any other nation.

There is another reason for European countries expending money upon merchant marine which is unnecessary in this country. Under the same principle which prompted the United States to aid the Union Pacific Railroad in order to establish speedy communications between the different parts of the country, the European nations having distant colonial possessions have sought to establish adequate means of communication between those possessions and the mother countries.

It is a fact shown by the official record that a considerable percentage of American vessels now engaged in the foreign trade clear in ballast. It is, therefore, not a lack of American ships which causes this small percentage of the foreign trade carried on American bottoms, but this small percentage is caused by the fact that the freight is sent in foreign ships. To increase the number of American ships would not increase the amount of American freight carried by them. The foreign purchaser and not the American seller chooses the ship which is to carry the goods.

There is another condition which explains the difference between the American shipping interests and those of other countries. I refer to the American coastwise trade. The United States has a greater coast line than is owned by all of the European nations combined. The European nations have comparatively little coast trade. They therefore enter into close competition for open-ocean business. The open-ocean business has

brought about so sharp and bitter a competition that all of the nations complain of the decadence of their profits from shipping. The vessel owners of the United States have a monopoly of the coast trade of the United States, and that coast trade is growing so rapidly that competition has as yet been felt but little. The result is that the American shipowner, after looking over the condition of the foreign trade, declines to enter upon the uncertainties of that business, and goes into the business which offers sure profits. He would do this even in case of a subsidy being offered. Established lines might to some extent increase their facilities in the foreign trade, but new lines would not embark in the hazardous project of competing with foreign lines when the coastwise trade offers them protection from such competition.

This is not the first proposition for the subsidy of American ships engaged in foreign trade. The United States has tried this plan upon several occasions and each time with disastrous results. The Collins Lines, the Pacific Mail, the Brazilian Line, and the Venezuelan Line were all subsidized, and in no case did the subsidy increase our trade.

Foreign countries have not had any more favorable experience with the subsidy plan of building up their merchant marine.

The State Department last year sent to the consuls of the United States on duty in foreign countries asking them for reports upon the success of subsidies in foreign countries. The following answers were received:

AUSTRIA.—Subsidized in 1894. During the past ten years there has been no appreciable increase either in the number of vessels or in tonnage, and there has been a decrease in the number of seamen.

BELGIUM.—No subsidy. The merchant marine of Belgium has shown a steady increase ever since 1859 and now consists of 90,971 tons as against 26,000 tons in 1870.

DENMARK.—No subsidy. The Danish merchant marine consisted on the 1st of March, 1899, of 3,170 sailing vessels of a gross tonnage of 186,000 tons and 505 steamers of a gross tonnage of 387,300 tons, against 3,199 sailing vessels of a gross tonnage of 192,100 tons and 442 steamers of a gross tonnage of 276,800 tons on the 1st of April, 1897.

FRANCE.—Heavily subsidized. The report of the committee of the House of Deputies, appointed to examine the budget of the minister of commerce for 1899, says:

"We do not hesitate to say without any fear of contradiction that our merchant marine is in such a state of decadence that there is reason to be uneasy about our navy fleet."

It is no longer a question, as is the case with the merchant marine of England and Germany, of competing with foreign ships in their own ports. We have seen from the statistics of navigation that even in French ports we find it difficult to obtain a proper share of our own freight.

Mr. Charles Roux, in his able study of the French merchant navy, says:

The decadence which is menacing us is increasing every day, and if we do not take care it is to be feared that, before the formidable clan of foreign fleets, our merchant navy in a very brief time will fall into complete ruin.

GERMANY.—Subsidized by postal contracts only. The growth of the German merchant marine has been steady and satisfactory since 1870. In addition to subsidies there have been a large number of special favors granted and the Government has practically built and established several of the steamship lines.

ITALY.—Subsidized. The merchant marine of Italy is practically at a standstill.

NETHERLANDS.—No subsidy. The merchant marine of the Netherlands is now 374,213 tons, an increase of 12,000 in the past year.

UNITED KINGDOM.—Generally reported subsidized, but, as a matter of fact, not subsidized. The official report says: "The Government of this country does not pursue any particular policy for the purpose of promoting its merchant marine. Subventions are paid for the use of certain vessels as armed cruisers in case of war, and payments are made for the carriage of mails."

UNITED STATES.—No subsidy. Growth of merchant marine from 3,477,801 tons in 1890 to 4,338,145 tons in 1900.

With the exception of England, no country which grants subsidies has increased its merchant marine, while all nations which did not grant a subsidy enjoyed a substantial increase. In the case of England the subsidies, so called, are no more than mail contracts, and are let out on bids. It is necessary for England to sustain an extensive foreign mail connection in order to keep in touch with her widely separated colonies.

It seems singular that in all of the arguments in favor of subsidizing the merchant marine so much is said as to the resulting increase of shipping and foreign trade. Not one of those who have thus dwelt upon the advantages to be derived from more ships and a greater foreign trade has cited a single instance where a subsidy has ever brought about an increase in the number of ships or of the trade they carried. As a matter of fact, the result of subsidies has always been to decrease the number of ships and the trade carried upon them. The reason for this is obvious. If a line is established and paid a subsidy, the subsidy enables it to shut off competition by unsubsidized lines. A subsidized company will run as many ships, and no more, as will pay the largest dividends. It creates a monopoly in that trade. A monopoly never seeks to extend its transactions in uncertain and untried fields. A subsidy stifles competition. It creates an inequality between the subsidized lines and those which are not subsidized that must of necessity result in the destruction of the latter.

It makes it possible for a combination between large ship companies by which a gigantic trust could easily be organized which would control not only the foreign trade, but the coastwise traffic



as well. A combination of our largest shipbuilding plants and shipping companies with large English concerns would make it possible to operate together in such a manner as to close out all of the individual shipowners and small companies in both the foreign trade and the coastwise trade. The amount of subsidies is limited to \$9,000,000 a year. It would be a very easy matter for such a combination to so transfer its vessels as to take the whole of this amount from the start and ruin our shipping industry.

In reading over the bill it will be noticed that there is no agreement in the contract proposed to be entered into between the shipowners and the United States Government other than that the shipowners agree to build additional ships in American yards.

The United States Government wants an increase in American ships engaged in foreign trade and a reduction of freight rates. This bill provides for neither. It does not compel a single ship to be run, nor do the recipients of the subsidy agree to make any reduction whatever in freight rates. In buying a thing which costs \$9,000,000 a year, ordinary prudence would seem to dictate that some provision be made for securing what we buy after we have paid for it. But there is no such provision in this bill. It is a proposition pure and simple, that if these gentlemen will use a part of the money as investments for their own benefit in American-built ships, we will give them \$9,000,000 a year out of the public Treasury for their individual profit, and let them keep the ships they have bought. They can run them or sell them as they see fit.

Mr. Speaker, I can not vote for a measure like this. It looks to me like a scheme to form a gigantic shipping trust, which will ruin thousands of poor men now engaged in the shipping business and place it in the power of a gigantic corporation to raise freight rates at will.

I am in favor of any measure which will tend to the upbuilding of our merchant marine. I am not opposed to expending a reasonable amount of money if by its expenditure we can make our people a seagoing people. I would be proud to hail the day when the Stars and Stripes float in every port in Christendom. I think it would be wise and prudent for the Government to foster and encourage in any practicable manner the building and sailing of ships. But I can not see that this bill if enacted into law will produce any such effect. The history of the past shows it would not.

This bill is an unfair discrimination against the toilers of the nation. Like much Republican legislation, it permits the big fish to swallow the little ones. I desire to quote at some length from the speech of Senator CLAY delivered in the Senate of the United States December 13, 1900:

Mr. CLAY. It is based upon the calculation of a vessel running that many days in a year.

These figures demonstrate that a swift passenger steamer that travels 504 miles per day, more than twice the distance that is traveled by a freighter, a 10-knot ship, draws from the public Treasury, under the provisions of this bill, \$304,290 annually—more than six times the amount donated by the Government to a 10-knot ship, when in all probability the 10-knot ship will carry more than a dozen times the farm products and heavy freight conveyed in the fast steamer engaged largely in carrying passengers. That the injustice and inequality of this measure might be thoroughly understood and exposed and that the advantage which the 21-knot ship will receive over the great freight carriers may be seen, I have taken the trouble to make a comparison of two steamers, one a 21-knot ship and the other a 14-knot ship. Take, for instance, the *St. Paul*, a swift passenger steamer of the American Line, with a gross tonnage of 11,629 tons. This ship travels 504 miles per day, and will draw an annual subsidy, under the provisions of this bill, of \$304,290.

Now, take the *Manhattan*, which is a great freighter of the Atlantic Transportation Company, with a gross tonnage of 8,004 tons and with a speed of 14 knots. This ship travels 336 miles per day and would draw, under the provisions of this bill, a subsidy of \$126,426, a little more than a third of the amount received by the *St. Paul*. I have before me the manifest of the *St. Paul* of April 3, 1900, clearly showing what the freight of this passenger steamer was made up of on that occasion. I also have the manifest of the *Manhattan* of December 16, 1899, and after going through the amount of farm products conveyed by each steamer I am at a loss to know how the friends of this measure can claim that this bill was framed in the interests of the farmers and producers of this country. I give below the freight conveyed by each to illustrate the line of argument which I am now pursuing:

Amount of freight carried by the *Manhattan* and the *St. Paul*.

Freight.	Manhattan, 14-knot ship.	St. Paul, 21-knot ship.
Corn .....	133,644	None.
Do .....	1,360	None.
Oats .....	50,824	None.
Do .....	335	None.
Hay .....	4,518	None.
Straw .....	282	2
Flour .....	11,532	None.
Cattle .....	800	None.
Horses .....	106	None.
Hops .....	1,946	1
White-oak staves .....	11,271	None.
White-oak boards .....	1,519	None.
Tobacco .....	24	None.
Do .....	10	None.
Eggs .....	200	None.
Seed .....	212	None.
Tallow .....	441	None.

This is only a partial list of the freight conveyed by each steamer, but it fully illustrates the amount and items of the products of the farm conveyed

by these two classes of ships. I have the entire manifest of the two steamers before me, and it is evident that the *St. Paul*, which receives the highest subsidy under this bill, carried practically no farm products except dressed beef and canned meats, which did not exceed 5 or 6 tons. How those who favor this measure, which donates annually to the *St. Paul* more than \$300,000, engaged in carrying passengers, can point out that the farmers and producers of this country are the principal beneficiaries under the provisions of this bill passes my comprehension. I am not surprised that at the hearings before the committee, which consumed weeks of time, which I now have before me, that not a single farmer or producer appeared in favor of the passage of this measure.

I am not surprised that the shipowners alone, either in person or by counsel, monopolized the time of the committee in pointing out the great benefits to accrue to the country, especially to the farmers and producers, from the passage of this measure. A careful analysis of the bill will demonstrate that they alone are the beneficiaries of this legislation, and the zeal and earnestness with which they have pressed their claims is another forcible illustration of the benefits they expect to receive at the expense of the public Treasury. I am not satisfied to let this part of the argument rest with the two steamers above given. I wish to carry it further. Take, for instance, the *St. Louis*, a swift passenger steamer of the American Line, which is a 21-knot ship, and would draw the highest subsidy given under the provisions of this bill. The *Georgic* is a freighter, and 13-knot speed, and belongs to the White Star Line. A comparison of the manifest of the *Georgic* of March 13, 1900, and of the *St. Louis* for February 20, 1900, as to the farm products conveyed by each gives the following results:

Amount of farm products carried by the *Georgic* and the *St. Louis*.

Freight conveyed.	Georgic, 13-knot ship.	St. Louis, 21-knot ship.
Corn .....	85,416	None.
Oats .....	6,900	None.
Hay .....	117,290	None.
Straw .....	12,005	None.
Flour .....	355	None.
Cattle .....	919	None.
Horses .....	127	None.
Wheat .....	39,917	None.
Cotton .....	10,965	None.
Barley .....	9,655	None.
Cheese .....	571	347
Bacon .....	1,624	4,250
Beef .....	6,661	3,871
Pork .....	4,306	None.
Tongue .....	30	10
Tallow .....	250	None.
Mutton .....	131	None.
Wood .....	648	None.
Hams .....	123	12

Mr. President, by a careful examination of the manifest of both ships it will be seen that the *St. Louis* carried no real farm products and only about 400 tons of partly manufactured products. On the contrary, the *Georgic*, with a gross tonnage of considerably less than that of the *St. Louis*, which would receive only 1½ cents per gross ton subsidy, a little more than a third of the amount received by the *St. Paul* or *St. Louis*, carried of raw farm products—corn, oats, hay, cattle, wheat, cotton, and barley—about 7,000 tons. Of these products the *St. Louis* did not carry a ton. Yet, under the provisions of this bill, the amount of annual subsidy paid to the *St. Louis* would amount to \$304,290, while the *Georgic*, which really conveyed the farm products, would draw a subsidy of not exceeding \$90,150.

Of the farm products and semimanufactured products the *Georgic* appears to have carried at least twenty times as many tons as did the *St. Louis*, and, if you estimate the subsidy paid in proportion to the farm products carried, the *St. Louis* would receive eighty times as much subsidy as would the *Georgic*; and the *St. Paul*, on the same basis, would get thirty-seven times as much subsidy as would the *Manhattan*. These illustrations, figures, and facts demonstrate that the subsidy rates provided for in this bill are especially planned, not to promote exports of American products, but to provide luxurious steamers for those who wish to travel abroad and who are amply able to pay first-class cabin accommodations. It can not be successfully disputed that the greater part of our exports, especially grain, tobacco, and cotton, are borne in steamers of less than 11-knot speed, and the engine, fuel, and crew room required by these slow steamers is comparatively small.

The highest subsidy proposed for such a steamer is 1½ cents per gross ton for each 100 miles, not exceeding 1,500 miles, and 1 cent per gross ton for each additional 100 miles of the voyage. To illustrate, an ordinary freight steamer or tramp ship, say, of 6,000 tons gross (measured) tonnage would carry 7,500 tons of cargo. Now, the gross tonnage of the *St. Louis*, one of the international four great steamers, is 11,629 tons, and her net tonnage 5,839 tons, and her cargo capacity 3,500 tons. At the rate of subsidy proposed by this bill the *St. Louis*, a swift passenger steamer of 21 knots speed, would receive for the first 1,500 miles of each of her outward and return voyages 3.8 cents per ton per 100 miles, and 3.3 per ton per 100 miles for the remaining distance, or over \$26,000 for the round trip. This sum would be paid to her owners out of the Treasury of the United States. But the actual cargo capacity of the *St. Louis* is 3,500 actual tons cargo.

The fact, therefore, is that for carrying half the American exports, for which the freight steamer was only subsidized for \$4,740, the luxurious, swift passenger steamer is subsidized for over \$26,000, or, in proportion to American exports carried, not considering the question of passengers, the passenger steamer receives more than eleven times the subsidy that does the freighter. The cargo of the freighter is made up of grain, flour, pork, cotton, and tobacco, while the cargo of the swift passenger steamer is made up of box and crated manufactured goods. The articles carried by the swift passenger steamers are found not to be farm products, but the surplus products of American manufacturers shipped abroad, sold, in all probability, for less prices than charged to home customers. Still, not being satisfied with the comparison already made as to the amount of subsidy paid swift passenger steamers, devoted almost entirely to carrying passengers and manufactured finished products, as compared with the amount paid freighters which carry the bulk of the farm products, I wish to carry the comparison still further.

I have before me the manifest of the *Beatrice* of April 10, 1900; the outgoing manifest of the *Knight Commander* of March 24, 1900; the outgoing manifest of the steamship *Nordhvalen* of April 4, 1900; the manifest of the steamship *Starlight*, April 2, 1900; also the steamship *Clumbershall*, April 12, 1900; steamship *Sir W. T. Lewis*, March 4, 1900. I have sent to Baltimore and procured this information that I might ascertain accurately what kind of freight these steamers conveyed. All of these ships above mentioned are below 12 knots and are freighters, and under this bill will draw the minimum subsidy



fixed and can not possibly draw exceeding \$45,000 annually each, while the *New York*, a swift passenger steamer, would draw an annual subsidy of over \$300,000. While all of the freight steamers above mentioned would draw the minimum subsidy under the provisions of the pending bill, these steamers at the same time would carry the bulk of farm products conveyed to foreign markets.

To further illustrate the freight capacity of the ships above set forth below 12 knots, I give the outgoing manifest of each ship on the date named, and I ask Senators to make the comparison with the *New York*, *St. Paul*, *St. Louis*, and *Paris*, four swift passenger steamers, that a correct conclusion may be reached as to the farm products conveyed by each class of ships, as well as the amount of subsidy received by the freighters in comparison with the passenger steamers. The outgoing manifest of the steamship *Beatrice*, April 10, 1900, was as follows: Gross tonnage, 3,334; speed, below 12 knots. Drawn by Howard Steamship Company. Cleared from Baltimore for Havre. Itemized list of freight conveyed is as follows:

Corn, in bulk	bushels	34,285
705 barrels chopped apples, equal to	pounds	180,255
15 maple logs	feet	3,400
48 walnut logs	do	8,000
3,400 oak planks	do	65,200
11,850 bars of copper	pounds	1,593,160
17,600 plates, copper	do	347,252
75 barrels sulphur copper	do	45,075
576 bundles oak strips	feet	5,068
468 pieces oak boards	do	10,951
5,235 packages oak strips	do	10,614
987 white-oak boards	do	24,400
70 logs, black walnut	cubic feet	1,200
1,174 oak poplar	do	68,751
409 walnut	feet	18,750
71 lumber	gallons	20,500
375 barrels lubricating oil	do	81,800
410 barrels lubricating oil	do	103,000
1,636 barrels oil	do	49,387
1,000 bags bark	pounds	200,000
100 bales cotton waste	do	13,640
1,792 boxes gluten meal	do	757,720
46 barrels graphite	do	228,000
1,463 sacks of oil cake	do	41,620
950 barrels zinc oxide	do	44,846
556 barrels carbon	do	44,846
132 barrels ocher	do	27,908
63 barrels tallow	do	43,450
158 barrels apples	do	63,163
550 packages lard	do	34,285
167 bales hogs' hair, equal to	do	12,000
Corn, in bulk	bushels	
210 boxes bark extract, equal to	pounds	

The above gives the line and class of freight conveyed by a steamer below 12 knots and which would draw the smallest subsidy mentioned in the bill. The outgoing manifest of the steamship *Nordevaen*, April 4, 1900, was as follows: Cleared from Baltimore for Denmark with mixed corn, 192,868 bushels, and 6,000 pounds of cotton bags. The steamship *Starlight* cleared from Baltimore April 2, 1900, for Southampton with 97,714 bushels corn and 103,449 bushels of oats. Both of these ships are freighters and below 12 knots and are engaged in carrying farm products, and would only draw the smallest subsidy mentioned in the bill. The steamship *Clumbershall* cleared from Baltimore April 12, 1900, to Rotterdam with mixed corn amounting to 185,142 bushels; yellow corn, 171,142 bushels; wheat, 16,000 bushels; bags of grain, 12,242 bushels. This steamship is a freighter and engaged in carrying farm products, and would likewise draw the minimum subsidy in the bill before us. The steamship *Sir W. T. Lewis* cleared from Baltimore March 4, 1900, for Havre with freights as follows:

Wheat in bulk	bushels	24,000
Mixed corn in bulk	do	51,428
550 bags chopped apples	pounds	572,000
921 oak planks	feet	25,000
24 walnut logs	do	2,000
20 hogsheads Virginia tobacco	pounds	40,100
775 bales cotton	do	387,800
760 pieces oak lumber	cubic feet	17,056
9,626 bars copper	pounds	14,677
55 cakes copper	do	11,672
1,670 ingots of copper	do	33,637
22,249 plates of copper	do	459,224
38 barrels sulphur copper	do	22,725
4,748 pieces oak lumber	feet	68,000
1,000 packages lard	pounds	187,801
100 boxes evaporated apples	do	173,113
1,050 barrels cotton-seed oil	gallons	52,500
Sacks oil cake	pounds	1,772,204
1,792 bags gluten meal	do	225,792

These partial items of freight give some idea of the farm products conveyed by ships engaged in our foreign trade. All of the ships above mentioned are below 12 knots, and are engaged almost entirely in carrying farm products. Notwithstanding this fact, the framers of the bill now under discussion have studiously planned to give the smallest subsidy to this class of vessels, reserving the largest share of the bounty taken from the public Treasury for the swift passenger steamers engaged largely in conveying tourists on pleasure trips to foreign countries. I am desirous, however, in carrying this illustration still further, that I may point out the great inequality and injustice of the scheme which we are now considering. I will take another ship; for instance, the steamship *Knight Commander*. This steamship is likewise a freighter, with a speed below 12 knots, and cleared from Baltimore for London March 24, 1900, with the following itemized list of freight:

1,000 bags chop	pounds	224,000
250 cases oysters	dozen	1,000
25 cases oysters	do	50
75 cases vegetables	do	100
60 cases ox tongues	do	720
Live cattle	do	224
6,150 barrels glucose	pounds	4,294,944
Chimneys (glass)	boxes	60
138 hogsheads, 139 tierces, 143 cases, leaf tobacco	pounds	314,156
5,926 pieces lumber	feet	22,145
Iron water gates	pieces	25
Tubs and pails	packages	259
Leather	do	7
Glass	do	8

Moldings	boxes	2
Oil balsam and advertising matter	box	1
6,500 bags glucose	pounds	1,456,000
21,246 sacks flour	do	3,104,440
2,000 bags starch	do	728,000
250 bags oatmeal	do	35,000
400 bags grits	do	112,000
749 barrels wax	do	310,035
3 bales quills	do	560
100 pounds pork—gross	do	350,000
1,600 cases pork, canned	do	77,950
50 packages barks and roots	do	7,479
1,630 bags grits	do	224,000
6,080 ingots copper	do	123,266
10,621 plates copper	do	212,853
Sheet steel	boxes	8
1,000 sacks crushed shells	pounds	224,000
Prints	boxes	2
5 bales and 30 bags bark	pounds	1,180
1 bag berries	do	1,400
Pipe staves	do	3,550
Staves	hogsheads	13,000
95 bales hog hair	pounds	74,549

A careful inspection of this list will give some idea of the farm products conveyed by this class of ships in comparison with the farm products conveyed by 21-knot ships, fast passenger steamers, which in reality draw the bulk of the subsidy provided by the pending bill.

Mr. Chairman, I fully appreciate the opportunity of the Administration as well as its responsibility. The President, Senate, and House are Republican and can formulate any kind of legislation they see fit, and are, therefore, responsible for these extravagant appropriations. But the responsibility of the minority is almost as great as that of the majority. It is the province of the minority not only to criticize, but to admonish the majority against everything that is anti-American, extravagant, and not for the best interest of the entire country.

There has been some talk of the reorganization of the Democratic party. There is neither time nor occasion for reorganization. We should take the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the spirit of the founders of the Republic as our guide for general legislation; we should stand shoulder to shoulder, touching elbows, and oppose every extravagant appropriation, every law that is conducive to building up combines and trusts, and in every action of the Administration that is not in harmony with these principles throw ourselves in the breach and prevent it if we can. If we can not, then draw the line so clear that everyone may see where the responsibility lies. If there are some things about which we might not agree in detail, there are so many issues upon which we can make common cause that we will not meet our full responsibility unless we use our united effort along the lines I have indicated. We may suffer defeat once, twice, thrice, but, like truth crushed to earth, we will rise again and assert the eternal principles upon which our Republic is based.

As to a leader, we do not particularly need one at this time. It is honest, courageous, hard fighting in the ranks that is most needed, and when the time comes we must choose a leader on national issues. The Democratic party can and will make no mistake if we choose a brave and strong Democrat who has never been suspected of flinching in the hour of severest trial, but has always placed himself in harmony with the immutable principles of the Democratic party, that are coextensive with the Republic itself. Let us, whether Democrats or Republicans, realize that it is as true to-day as when first spoken, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." This is a government by the people. Let the directors, who are the male inhabitants over the age of 21 years, understand what our patriotic and economic position is and no one need have any fear as to the future of the party. We have made much history in the last three years, some of which must be undone. There are important questions now confronting the American people that must be met and solved. They should be solved on a higher plane than that of mere partisanship—on the plane of duty to the Republic of the fathers. The people have the destiny and future of the Republic in their own hands. Let every American meet these questions in such a way that wherever he is, whether at home or abroad, the proudest words he could speak would be, "I am an American citizen."

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, it is proposed to add as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, or to pass as an independent enactment, a measure providing that all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person or persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for the establishment of civil government in said islands and for protecting their inhabitants in the free enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and their religion.

Mr. Chairman, if any proposition like that shall come before this House during the remainder of this session, I can most cheerfully vote for it. It seems plain that provision must be made by Congress for a larger exercise of civil authority in the Philippine Islands. In seriously taking up the difficult task of devising and framing the required legislation I believe it would be well, for reasons which I will try to state, for Congress to determine and declare what the purpose of the United States is in further holding



possession of those islands and in continuing to assert and maintain our authority therein.

We can adopt any one of several policies, according to our view of what is the wisest course to reach the best results, for dealing with these new possessions.

We can hold the islands as Territories, with the purpose of ultimately admitting them into the Union as States. But does any intelligent man believe the time will ever come when the people of the United States will seriously consider the question of taking these distant lands into our happy combination of American Commonwealths? Our vast acquisition under Jefferson, and our rich increase by the treaty with fallen Mexico, opened glorious vistas of new States to be welcomed into the Union. It is not so of our purchase in the waters of the Eastern world. Gentlemen eloquently tell us that the cables under the sea, and the swift steamships that proudly ride upon its surface, have so narrowed time and space that Manila is almost as near to the capital of this country now as New Orleans was when the site on which it stood first became American ground, or as San Francisco was when California first became an American possession.

If we were only separated from the Philippine Islands by time and space, which human genius will no doubt still further overcome, we might reasonably expect the day to dawn when we might add a star to our flag for this distant State. But there are obstacles, besides time and space, that stand immovable against this extension of our Union. The ancestral line of the American and the ancestral line of the Filipino are as far apart as the poles of the earth, and no invention can bring them together. The climate of the American, which gives vital energy to worthy impulse, differs from the climate of the Filipino, which weakens human endeavor, as strength differs from weakness, as health differs from disease, as life differs from death. While the American works the Filipino sleeps. The American and the Filipino are utterly alien to each other in blood. They are foreign to each other in religion. They are strangers to each other in the confirmed tastes and habits of centuries. In the clear comprehension of what civil liberty is—in the lofty ideals of free institutions, the American is so far removed from the Filipino that their successful union as fellow-citizens of a common government is an attainment beyond the horizon of a dream.

If we can not hope to make States out of these islands, what other course is open to us? If the Constitution will permit, we can keep the islands perpetually as dependencies. We are gravely assured by eminent men in our midst that this is the policy which we have already adopted, and that we must adhere to it time without end. The able chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs [Mr. HULL] recently, in this House, declared his belief that "we will maintain our authority in the Philippine Islands as long as the Republic endures." Certainly he did not mean that we will maintain our authority over Filipino States of the American Union. He must have intended to express his belief that we will maintain our authority over Filipino colonies. Other distinguished gentlemen say the same thing. It is assumed by them that the final relation of the United States to the Philippine Islands is settled, and that this relation is and will continue to be the relation which a proprietor holds to the property which he owns and controls—the relation which a powerful Government sustains to the colonies which it governs.

Those who three years ago would have scouted the suggestion that the United States ever would or ever could become the parent government to colonies of alien people now seem to be reconciled to what they declare is the fixed and unalterable colonial policy of our Government. They do not like this policy, they assert, but they declare that by reason of events which can not be reversed we have become, in spite of ourselves and almost without knowing it, the owner of Territorial dependencies which we must keep forever. I do not believe the status of these islands is so irrevocably fixed. I can not concur in the conclusion that they must remain our colonies, whether for good or ill, for all time. I do not want to see them become permanent dependencies of the United States. I do not believe in a colonial policy for this country. I do not believe in such a policy for this nation, even to the extent of holding these islands perpetually as colonial dependencies.

A colonial policy will be vastly expensive for the United States. We can not maintain a colonial system as economically as other nations can. An army of 100,000 American soldiers costs more than an army of the same size costs any other nation, because we pay our soldiers more than any other government pays its soldiers, and make better provision for them while in the service than any other nation makes for its soldiers, and pay our soldiers as pensioners more than any other nation pays its soldiers who are wounded or worn-out in its service. A colonial policy will require a large permanent army. We now have about 70,000 men in the Philippine Islands. We shall probably have to maintain this number for at least one year more. How much longer we will need so large an army there no one can tell, but it seems probable that we

shall have to keep a strong force there for a long time, if not indefinitely, if our present policy is to be continued.

A colonial policy will call for the constant increase of our Navy. Embarked upon such a policy our strength on the sea must bear some proper proportion to the naval strength of other nations. We will realize the necessity of trying to keep up with them. This House has just passed a bill which carried appropriations in the sum of \$77,000,000 for our Navy. This is the largest naval bill in our history. I voted for it without question, for as we are now going we need all that this bill will provide for us, and much more. England is pursuing her plan to keep her navy equal to any other two navies combined. Germany has authorized and entered upon the execution of a great naval programme which will give her, by 1916, a powerful navy—a navy which will have 40 battle ships, to say nothing of cruisers, torpedo boats, and other war craft. Japan, Russia, Italy, and France are increasing their respective navies on large expenditures and with great energy. If we are to take our place in the world as a colonial power, we must be ready to protect our possessions and their inhabitants. In that event we must keep up with the other ocean powers of the world. It is stated that the appropriations of this session will reach \$760,000,000, and the startling statement is made in connection with this that the military budget of this Republic will amount during the coming year to more than half of that sum, or about \$400,000,000.

A colonial policy will be liable to lead us into entangling alliances, against which we have been so solemnly warned, and very likely to involve us in foreign wars.

A colonial policy will impair, if not destroy, the doctrine under which we have defended the little States of the New World against encroachments from the Old World. If we insist on our right to hold colonies in the Eastern Hemisphere, by what right will we demand that foreign powers shall not hold colonies in the Western Hemisphere?

A colonial policy will be a radical departure from the course which our Government has consistently adhered to in its splendid career of more than a hundred years. A colonial policy will be maintained at the cost—greater than any sum of money can measure—of violating principles which we have cherished as the very life of free government. A colonial policy will require us to govern without the consent of the governed. A colonial policy will destroy the high ideals which we have so fondly cherished and so proudly followed from our beginning as a nation. A colonial policy once permanently established for America would open our future career to consequences which no man can foresee or measure with any degree of accuracy in the unsubstantial realm of speculation.

If we believe the Philippine Islands will never become fit for States of this Union, and if we decline to hold them as permanent dependencies, what course is left to us? What can we do? There is one policy which we can follow. It is open to us. It will involve no retreat from the responsibility which we have assumed in these islands. It will not be inconsistent with what we have hitherto done there. We can pursue this course and remain faithful to the trust we have taken upon ourselves. The way will be honorable. We can retain possession of the islands as long as may be required to fully establish our authority therein, and as much longer as may be necessary to enable their inhabitants, with our assistance, to form a stable government for themselves. Then, under proper conditions, we can leave the islands to their people, and we can say now to them that this is what we intend to do. I believe this is what we should do, and so believing, I have introduced the following joint resolution:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the purpose of the United States in retaining possession of the Philippine Islands to aid their inhabitants, when they submit to the authority of the United States, in establishing a capable and stable free government; and when this purpose shall be fully accomplished the United States, under such reservations and conditions as may be wise and just, will relinquish sovereignty in those islands.*

[Applause.]

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him to what committee that resolution was referred?

Mr. BROWN. To the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Was it ever reported?

Mr. BROWN. It was only introduced two days ago.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. It has not been reported?

Mr. BROWN. There has not been time.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I hope it will be reported before we adjourn.

Mr. BROWN. I believe there are the strongest possible reasons why it would be the part of the highest wisdom and patriotism for us at this time to make the declaration contained in this joint resolution. One of its first and immediate effects would certainly be to weaken whatever remains of Filipino resistance to American authority. On this declaration by Congress that the Filipinos must submit to the power of this nation before it will begin to assist them in establishing a government and that when they do thus submit we will aid them in constructing a government for themselves they could not but see and fully realize the



utter futility and hopelessness of continuing their vain struggle, and could not fail to realize the great advantage to them of accepting the opportunity to form a government of their own with the help of the United States.

This declaration would be to the Filipinos a most impressive warning, and at the same time it would hold out to them the most alluring prospect ever presented to them. "Submit to American authority," it would say to them, "and then you may begin, with our friendship, support, and aid, to recover from your centuries of oppression and cruelty, and to make a government for yourselves." [Applause.]

Congress has never yet announced to the Filipinos what the national purpose is with respect to them. If this body will tell them now—tell them explicitly and solemnly—that it is the fixed determination of this nation to establish its authority in their country, and that when this end shall be reached they shall have a chance to become in due time free citizens of a free government—if Congress will say this to them and say it now, we may confidently expect that their rude weapons of warfare will fall from their hands and that they will sue for peace—peace which they will know means more for them than anything ever before held out to them or to their fathers in any generation.

In the declaration in the resolution I have offered there is no hint, no thought, of the failure of our arms in the Philippine Islands. On the contrary, it is a declaration on the theory and on the fact that our army there is successful. In this view we can adopt this resolution now without any sacrifice of pride, and without giving the people of the Philippine Islands or any other people on the earth the right to make light of us or exult over us or put us to shame or ridicule.

This declaration could well go from us at this time. It would go from us now in our strength, not in our weakness. It would go from us now in our success, not in our failure. Our soldiers in the Philippine Islands are victorious. They have not overcome all resistance to American authority. They have not entirely pacified the islands. But they have destroyed whatever there was of the Filipino civil government and scattered its members to the four corners of their islands and have defeated and dispersed whatever there was of the Filipino army.

This declaration would now be opportune. It would be, at this time, a wise act which the Government is strong enough to perform without having its motives questioned by friend or foe. Even the most deluded Filipino could not misunderstand it. It would go to him, as he would know, and as all the world would know, in the day of our triumph and his defeat. It would say to him: "Lay down your arms. Submit to our authority. Address yourself in peace to the task of constructing and establishing a stable republican government, which you say you desire to do. This accomplished, we will leave you free, except as we may require terms and guarantees that will not oppress you, but which may be best for both you and us." This declaration by Congress now would go to the Filipino as a great nation's amnesty to him.

Why not proclaim this to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and why not proclaim it now? It may be answered that this is about what we really intend to do. It may be asserted that as we are now going, and without a pledge or a word from us, the ultimate end of our occupation of Filipino territory will be Filipino freedom and Filipino government. But we have not said this to the Filipinos. We have carefully and studiously refused to say this to them. On the contrary, we have been constantly saying to them: "We will be fair and just to you. We will give you such measure of liberty as we think you are fit to enjoy. But your land is our property. You and all that you have belong to us." This cannot satisfy even the man who is ignorant and only partially civilized, but in whose heart there dwells a faint longing for liberty. Let us say more than this to the little man whose skin is brown in the blaze of the oriental sun. Let us say even to him, low as he may be in the scale of the civilization of which we boast: "We see even in you the form and soul of a man, and we will deal with you as man should deal with man."

The resolution does not call for a cessation of hostilities. It demands that the Filipinos submit to the authority of the United States. Their surrender is the first condition we impose. Their submission is to be the beginning of our help in creating a civil government by and for them. We will go on recruiting the Army. We will go on voting Army supplies. We will not listen to the demand that we withdraw our Army or any part of it now. Its recall while there confronts it an armed force, however small, would humiliate our soldiers and put this nation to shame. This must never be. So long as an American soldier would be followed from his camp on the plains or his post in the mountains by armed foes, he shall not be ordered to Manila, but shall be authorized to stay where he is. He is the last soldier on earth to turn his back to an enemy, and what he would not do in this way of his own will he shall never be ordered to do by his Government.

The resolution does not propose to lower the American flag at this time, or at any specified time hereafter, at any place where

it proudly floats to-day. When our flag shall have witnessed and stood guard at the birth of a new republic, when it shall have been as a star shining out of the heavens upon the lowly cradle of an infant nation born into the family of free governments, when it shall have stood as God's sentinel to watch and protect this child among the powers of the earth until it can walk alone—then, but not till then, will we further consider what place in honor our flag should hold on those distant shores. This nation may deem it expedient and necessary to reserve and permanently keep ample harbor, storage, and camp facilities in these islands. That being so, our flag will forever remain there, not to wave over a people in colonial subjection to us, but as the symbol of our title to a firm foothold in that region.

There is a wise and splendid precedent for this declaration of the nation's purpose in continuing to assert its authority in the Philippine Islands. Here is a part of the resolution of Congress, adopted three years ago, relating to Cuba:

That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

We hear it said now—it is almost common talk—that it was a mistake for our Government to make this disclaimer. Men assert, without any apparent sense of shame, that, while it was all well enough for us to go to war for the sake of humanity and in humanity's name, we should have left ourselves free to bring the Cuban people into subjection to us and free to take their island into our keeping and hold it as our property. Deep regret is expressed because of the fact that before the world we pledged ourselves to the people of Cuba that we would not make conquest of their island, but that we would leave it to them. The man who says we should have resorted to this double dealing in April, 1898, now very logically and very naturally goes a step further and says we ought to violate the pledge we then made and take Cuba, whether she wants to come to us or not. What more miserable, more inhuman, more unpatriotic course could be advocated? It is the climax of greed, without one spark of conscience. It is the acme of avarice, without a single redeeming feature. It is the doctrine of a freebooter of the world. It is the code of a pirate of all the seas. [Applause.]

One week ago in this Hall gentlemen paid high and just tribute to the memory of Cushman K. Davis. He was a patriot, a statesman, a humane and noble man. I count this pledge to Cuba, which he moved as an amendment to the intervention resolution, as one of the bravest and best deeds of his life, and as one of the most beautiful leaves in the wreath which now encircles his honored name. Who is it that now dares to say that we may be false to this pledge? If its author could come back to his place in the Senate, what would he say to such a proposition? No one who knew him can doubt that he would spurn the base suggestion. As his friends would be true to his memory, let them keep the faith which he pledged to an oppressed and persecuted people, and as we all would be true to national and individual honor let us keep our promise in its strict letter and its perfect spirit. We must keep our honor bright.

I know it is said that a Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] was the author of the pledge which I have read. It is true that he had submitted to the Senate a proposition relating to Cuba which contained substantially the same declaration. But Senator Davis adopted this pledge as his own, changed its language in an important particular, and offered it to the Senate as his proposition, and as his amendment it was agreed to by that body. This is precisely what the RECORD shows.

I believe Cuba will become a part of the domain of the United States. But if we must acquire the island against the will of its people and by an act of ours which breaks this nation's solemn word, if we must secure the island in this way or not at all, then may Cuba remain away from us forever. [Applause.]

When we come to deliberately consider our relation to the Philippine Islands and our duty to their inhabitants, when we come to seriously consider our duty to our own people and to the people of all climes and all future ages, there is something besides rich soil and its crops, something besides a thousand islands and their immense natural resources, something besides trade, something besides wealth, something besides dominion and power, which must engage our deepest thought. That these islands add vastly to our national domain and contribute immensely to our material wealth is certain. That the ownership of these islands ministers to our pride of possession can not be disputed. The sun rises on our land earlier and shines on it longer than it ever did before, and we too may boast without great exaggeration that our drumbeat is heard around the world. But is this the best—the best for us? Is this all—for us? Founded as our nation was, to regard people as worth more than land, shall we now think more of land than we do of people?

If we hold the Philippine Islands perpetually, as we may have good legal right to do, what will be the effect of our action on the



people of the United States and their free institutions, and on the people of these islands and their future in the great problems of government and civilization? This is a question, ever recurring, which no thoughtful person can put aside. We may exult in the vast increase of territory and wealth which our prowess in war and our skill in diplomacy have brought to us, and may attempt to persuade ourselves that this is the highest glory of the Republic; but there will be a solemn voice that we will ever hear—a still small voice that will question us and search us, asking us to say, as we will have to answer at the bar of history, whether this is the true end of our being among the nations of the world. [Applause.]

Mr. DINSMORE. Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the committee is not in the Hall of the House at present, and while I had not intended to have anything whatever to say in the debate, and shall not engage in any general discussion, I am impelled, since hearing the words so fitly spoken by the gentleman from Ohio, to express my gratification and congratulation to him and the people of the United States that he has had the courage to stand up in the midst of a party who have opposed the development of the noble sentiment which he has expressed in his speech, to speak in behalf of patriotism, liberty, right government, national honor, and integrity. [Applause.]

I say this not, Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of stirring up any partisan feeling. In a moment like this, when a man has had the courage, impelled by patriotic sentiment, to speak for his country and right in opposition to the party to which he belongs, it seems to me that it would be undignified to try to acquire partisan advantage. But I speak, Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the country which we all love, for a wise, humane, and safe policy, and I dare assert here to-day that, but for evil influences behind members of this House, many gentlemen sitting upon the side of the majority sympathize with the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from Ohio, and would give their aid and support gladly if they could do so consistently with the will of the party as laid down and expressed by its management.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has spoken of the policy of our Government in reference to the Filipinos. He has declared as his opinion that the Government of the United States, through Congress, should express its purpose. Mr. Chairman, we have long plead with the majority to express its purpose in distinct terms, and I am glad to hear a representative of the majority give his voice to our insistence. He has put it upon a just ground. He has said not only the Filipinos but the people of the United States have a right to know what the purpose is, and he has given ample reasons why the Government should express its intention.

He has told you that which has been iterated upon this side of the Chamber time and again: If the Government would express the purpose—a beneficent purpose, one in accord with its own history, one in accord with the precepts of the Declaration of Independence, in entire accord with the great Constitution which is builded upon it, in accord with civilization, and with all the teachings of morality which have gone out from this Government of ours in behalf of independent nationality—that the Filipinos would lay down their arms and accept the situation and the kind mediation of the Republic of the United States—that Republic which acted in behalf of Cuba, and which gave them the reasonable hope that they might receive the same kind of mediation there as the Cubans received. I believe we all know it would have solved the difficulty long ago if the Government had chosen to enter upon this policy.

That it has not done so has involved us in greater difficulties, in greater embarrassments. I am free to confess to the House that it is more difficult to withdraw from the Philippines than it was several months ago; but, as has been well stated by the gentleman from Ohio, it is not beyond possibility yet, and it is the duty of this great nation, which has founded and has rocked the cradle of liberty, to act in the premises in accordance with all our traditions and all our past record.

As he has well pointed out, Mr. Chairman, the declaration of war in the resolutions which authorized the war specified beyond misconception what the purpose of the United States was with reference to Cuba: A disavowal of any purpose of conquest, an express avowal of no purpose to interfere with their government beyond the purpose of pacification and of enabling or assisting them to establish an independent government of their own. The faith of the United States was pledged to this. The flag which has ever stood for truth and honor and national integrity vouchsafed the performance of the promise; and yet to-day, as has been stated by my distinguished colleague upon the committee, it is boldly advocated by gentlemen that we set up a sovereignty in Cuba in the face of our express promise.

I was delighted to hear the applause which it received on that side of the Chamber when he said it was the duty of the Government to carry out its promise. I hope it shall be done; I trust it shall be done; but when we read the press—take up the paper this morning—we find the Cabinet had a meeting yesterday to consider

whether there should be an extra session of Congress; that their deliberations included the question of the Cuban constitution, whether or not it was of sufficient importance to have an extra session of Congress to consider the Cuban constitution, assuming to ourselves the right, the authority, to determine whether the Cuban government is a government, not which is "stable," not which guarantees to them their own liberties and rights, but whether it is such a government as properly protects the trade of the United States, a government which properly defines and hedges about the interests of the United States, whether we may safely consent that a constitution shall be adopted by the Cubans which will leave to them the right to make treaties with foreign governments without the consent and sanction of the United States authorities. Remember the declaration of war; remember the resolution of Congress, "The Cubans are, and of right should be, free and independent."

The purpose of the United States Government and of Congress was declared to be to go forward and to withhold the hand of Spain that the Cuban people might establish a government for their own interests, free and independent of all powers, whether the United States or any other. Is that in accord with the present policy of this Administration? Is that in accord with what we see in the public press? Is it in accord with the declaration we have heard from influential gentlemen of the Republican party? I do not say on this floor. But we see that preparations are being made to violate the national faith, to break the pledge of honor made by our Government, and to withhold from the Cubans that full measure of liberty which we promised in our resolutions at the beginning of this war. I do not know what will be done, but there is just cause for alarm.

Faith was equally broken—broken to a greater degree by our course with reference to the Filipinos. I shall not take time to dwell on that topic in detail, indeed the time does not remain, in view of the special order for 2 o'clock, and I had no purpose to address the House, and should not have done so for any purpose except to express my gratification and approval of the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio. I shall not attempt to go into a discussion of our historic relations with the Filipinos, but that they did trust in the honor of the United States; that they did believe they would receive from this Government assistance instead of aggression, no man can doubt.

We were told during the last campaign that the war was practically ended. Indeed as long as a year ago the President of the United States told Congress that there remained arrayed against us only a few remnants of one or two bands, and that the conflict was almost over. During the recent campaign the Republican orators went throughout the length and breadth of the United States proclaiming that there would be no vitality in the war but for "Bryanism" in the United States.

"Once overthrow Bryan," they said, "and the war will be over; the Filipinos will be brought into subjection." Is it so, Mr. Chairman? Are those the messages which come to us by wire from the Philippines? Are there such evidences presented to our minds and consciences by the public press and by all the evidences that reach us? Let me read a line or two from a dispatch in this morning's Washington Post, coming from Manila:

The general situation in reference to efforts toward pacification of the Filipinos may be summed up in two words, namely, "slow progress."

"Bryanism" is dead [applause on the Republican side] for the present. "Bryanism" is overthrown for the present. I know it makes you Republicans happy to know that it is so even for the present; but so sure as "truth crushed to earth will rise again," as stated by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MIERS] this morning, so surely as liberty and constitutional government are to survive with us, will the principles which Mr. Bryan advocated and for which he stood in the last campaign rise up to bless the people of this Republic. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

But the election of 1900 is passed. Mr. McKinley is reelected. Yet there is no more evidence of the subjection of the Filipinos than there was before. They still go on fighting. Did Mr. Bryan's overthrow render nerveless the arms of the Filipinos bared for liberty in their own country? The newspapers tell us, not. They tell us that the situation may be expressed in two words, "slow progress." They tell us, further:

"The general situation," in reference to efforts toward pacification of the Philippines, may be summed up in two words, namely, "slow progress." The fact that progress is being made is fully apparent, but that it is slow is equally undeniable. In taking stock on the threshold of the new century, the conquest of the Philippines is found to be still very far from actual accomplishment, with no eyewitnesses of the conflict willing to hazard opinions as to the time when even an approximate general peace is to be established. Such is the consensus of the views gathered by the Associated Press from military and civil officials of high and lesser rank and from soldiers, sailors, and citizens.

When will the conflict stop? Will it be when "the last armed foe expires?" Will it be when the last drop of liberty-devoted blood in the Philippine Islands has been poured out upon that soil? Who knows? We are going on extending our military preparations, enlarging our armies, increasing our taxes, until to-day,



although only a short time ago the whole country was almost stupefied and benumbed when Congress had reached the point of \$1,000,000,000 of appropriations during a single Congress, we have now an expenditure of almost a billion of dollars for a single session, and the time is at hand when we shall exceed that. What is there to justify such an expenditure? "Benevolent assimilation?" The Christianizing of other peoples? Go to the bottom of this question and you will find the motive. It is found in those people who—I would willingly withhold any remark which may cause offense—people who exercise too much power in the administration of affairs in this country—the great powers that organize trusts, the great powers that "syndicate" the railroads, the great powers that want new fields in which to make new exploits, the power that to-day takes in its tensile grasp the destinies of the American people and holds them against the hearts and consciences of even members of this House who sustain them in their course. [Loud applause.]

Mr. NORTON of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, from time immemorial almost, ever since there has been separate governments upon the earth, it has been deemed wise and prudent for one nation to have its agents and representatives within the borders of other nations to watch and care for the interests of the home country and to guard and protect the rights and privileges of its citizens while engaged abroad on business or for pleasure. In pursuance of that long-established custom the United States has its civil army of diplomats, consuls, and agents in every corner of the world. To keep and maintain them there requires money, and there is no desire on the part of those sitting on this side of the House to hold back from them their just and reasonable compensation. We are ready at all times to uphold the honor and dignity of the country we love, both at home and abroad.

From the day when our Declaration of Independence was signed there has never been an hour when we were not a "world power," and those are but laggards and scant readers of history who at this late day hail as a newly made discovery this fact. It has not remained for this Government at the close of the nineteenth century to enter upon any course of action that would for the first time in our history give recognition to our standing among the nations of the world. For years in every line and channel of industry, science, art, beneficence, charitable, religious, or commercial enterprise our influence has gone out to all the ends of the world, and countless millions have been the grateful recipients of our bounty or profited by the example we have given in the development of a free people.

I do not need to speak of our land being the Mecca toward whose shores the longing eyes of the oppressed in all other lands have in the past been turned, as having within its borders and under the protection of its flag the realization of their hopes for individual freedom and human liberty. Has the story not been told again and again in every city, village, hamlet, and home under our own blue skies? I need not to mention or recount the glorious record of grand and magnificent achievements of our armies and Navy during our nation's existence. It is written on the hearts of our people; it has caused the nations of the world to stay their thoughts of infringing upon the least of our rights and shrink back ere reaching the brink of disastrous trial by force of arms of our strength. All this is our history in our good old days when we, as a nation, were in a larger measure true to the principles and doctrines which formed the foundations of our Republic and upon which our constitutional Government was erected; principles to which it has for over a century clung, and around which are entwined all the patriotic impulses and affections of the truly loyal American citizen of to-day. [Applause.]

But, sir, we have entered upon a new and strange career. We have sought new channels in which to sail our ship of state. We have ventured into troubled seas, not, however, unknown, for the history and experience of other nations is an open chart before us, all marked and covered with the ruin, degradation, or destruction of every free government that has ever entered upon this devious course.

As I have already said, we as a nation have made a grand and glorious record; but, sir, our Government has been in human hands, and human nature is not infallible. It is liable to errors and faults, and our nation should, like the individual, profit by its faults, in that we may by their recognition in our past history avoid them in the future.

We have as a Government during our past been cruelly and criminally wrong to the Indian and the negro. This is so self-evident that its bare mention is sufficient; and as crime is ever followed by retribution and punishment, unless repentance, restitution, and good works follow, we may not hope to escape the inevitable reward of the wicked.

With all the facts of history open to our inspection, with all the teachings of the followers of Christ—and we profess to be a Christian nation—with all the glow of an enlightened civilization that illumines the dawn of a new century, with all the hopes and aspirations of a great people to serve as beacon lights and warning

signals, are we to repeat the mistakes and crimes of the past and in merited punishment go the way of republics of the past? I do not think so, for I have hope that the day will yet come when the sovereign power of this land—the people—will be awakened and disenthralled from the grasp of the hideous monstrosity that now has them in check. In the voice of Democracy there sounds no note of despair. [Applause.]

In the pages of past events we find that vice and corruption only triumph for final defeat, and that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad"—so as we witness the ghoulis rejoicing of the masters of the Republican party over their triumph, and behold the mad extravagance and wild policies presented by them for the obsequious indorsement of their partisan subjects here, we realize that we have but to wait, and the inexorable hand of fate will bring about their downfall; but while we wait, we will not sit with folded hands or silent tongue, and by our indifference and neglect become guilty partners of their crimes. Obedient to duty, we can only "cry aloud and spare not," as by some strange perversity of human nature the voters of this land have seen fit to give to this fast decaying and morally corrupt Republican party a renewed lease of power.

As a portion of the reward to be given to the people of this country for placing in power such a delectable majority as now controls the policies of the nation, the dear people are to be blessed with a national expenditure of \$800,000,000 in one year, sixteen hundred million in two years to be drawn from the hard-earned savings of the people of this land. Stop for a moment and think of this gigantic drain upon the resources of this country. Consider the enormous sacrifices that must be made by the burdened citizens of our land in order that the commercial greed of syndicates and trusts may be satiated and appeased.

The days of this Congress are hurrying by, soon this session will close and our acts will fall into history and their results will contribute to the weal or woe not alone of ourselves, but of our country and of the world, and with the deeds we have done will stand side by side our failures, and, sir, it will be by our failures that we will be judged more strongly than by anything we may have done, unless between now and the 4th day of March next there is a mighty conversion upon the part of our Republican brethren; and "can the leopard change his spots?" Nay, verily! This Chamber has passed a bill to reduce taxation, but it has met its Waterloo at the opposite end of the Capitol; and now we must fight over again the battle for the people and win a larger victory, or suffer defeat in conference committee. And why is this measure before us?

The necessity for its existence ceased years ago, before this Congress came into being. It was a war measure, and with the termination of the war with Spain this revenue law should have been promptly repealed. It was promised us that such a course would be taken, but the untoward course of events, the unfortunate trend of conditions, made such a wise, honest, and desirable action impossible. The legislative branch of our Government, instead of maintaining its coordinate dignity and power, sacrificed itself, "bowed the knee to Baal," and in conformity to the dictates of the bosses of the Republican party, the agents of monopoly and power behind the throne, surrendered to an Administration, itself the unfortunate victim of organized greed and pelf.

The spirit of humanity, that ever dwells in the hearts of a liberty-loving people, was evoked to arouse an unwilling Executive to perform a duty that his own heart should have anticipated a long twelvemonth before, and the United States stood forth before the gaze of the wondering world clad in all the panoply of conscious rectitude and right, the champion of an oppressed and struggling people, ready to battle for the triumph of a righteous cause. The gage of battle thrown down, was taken up by the Spanish oppressor, and war came. Its memory is still fresh in your minds, how our soldiers, our Army and Navy, did valiantly, and won the victory.

Then amid the gratulations and shouts of the populace was heard the query, "Will you now stand by your pledged word of honor and leave Cuba free?" In days of old to a true knight or a chivalrous gentleman no such a question would be dreamed of the asking, nor, indeed, would it have been raised under the Government of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, or Lincoln, but the humiliating revelations of canned beef horrors, the smirched and stained characters of many honored by the Administration, and the unholy pandering to the lust of gain and demands made by contributors to the Republican campaign fund, all disclosed such a debauchery of official conscience that there existed a reasonable doubt in the minds of the watching world as to the result, and that doubt was justified by our action. Spain was driven from Cuba, and the shackles were stricken from the limbs of that people only to be replaced by manacles and fetters on arms and hands.

Years have gone by since Spanish domination ceased in Cuba, but we still hold it in our grasp, and force Cuba to bow in submission to looting and stealing by the pets and hirelings of Republican party officials and leaders, and we stand, as a nation, as



being a monumental liar. In the brave days of old to be a Roman was an honor grand and high, and in our early days to serve our country was a high distinction and the patriot's loftiest aim, but in these days to steal the most and pay the highest bribes is the most direct way to a high position in the counsels of the Republican party. Under the leadership of the Republican masters we, as a nation, are guilty of both misfeasance and malfeasance, of broken faith, of betrayal of trust, of fraud, and violation of every principle of justice and equity in our dealing with Cuba alone. [Applause.]

But there is another incident that rises up before me at this moment, the suggestion of which should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every Republican, and especially so if he ever wore the uniform of a soldier or is a halfway honorable man. I refer to the defender of embalmed beef, the insulting defamer of General Miles—Eagan, who, convicted by a high court-martial of a military crime and of conduct unbecoming an officer, instead of being punished in accordance with the just verdict of the court, was rewarded by an unlimited leave of absence upon full pay. Take the history of many cases that readily suggest themselves to your minds as I speak to you, and we accumulate a record of dishonor and criminal conduct to parallel the records of the police courts in the vilest quarters of our great cities. What an example to our youth and growing manhood!

This Government of ours has schools in which we seek to train up young men in military and naval knowledge and duties and strive to instill honor, obedience, and respect into their minds as the fundamental principles of an officer and a gentleman; but what can you expect will be the result, or what success will you have, if high officers set examples of dishonor, cowardice, slander, disobedience, and disrespect and are honored by the Commander in Chief for so doing?

The churches throughout the length and breadth of the land seek to inculcate and establish morality, honesty, and virtue in the people of our country; but how can the churches look for success in their laudable undertaking if the nation—if this nation, of which they proclaim "Whose God is the Lord"—acts in direct contravention to all the principles presented as the teachings of the Christ?

We often smile at the French people, calling them of a mercurial disposition, and are amused to see how quickly they have turned from one form of government to another, but in shifting about from one position to another, in seeking some new thing daily and forgetting those of yesterday, the Republican party seems to be able to give cards and spades both to the French and also to the ancient men of Athens who listened to Paul of Tarsus on Mars Hill. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, there is another phase of the late war with Spain that is forced upon our attention: The President of the United States in the most explicit terms pronounced it a war for humanity's sake and not entered into with desire for conquest or criminal aggression; and yet how far from humanity have our arms been led, what inordinate desires for conquest have been followed; how that part of the Decalogue which reads, "Thou shalt not covet," as well as others I might mention, has been violated by this professed Christian and God-fearing nation.

We drove Spain from Cuba and seek to prostitute its riches to favored friends of the Republican oligarchy which surrounds the throne, and in like manner we seek to enslave a people struggling for liberty—a people who fought by the side of our troops as allies and were our friends until made hostile to us by unprovoked, unwarranted, and criminal aggression on the part of American soldiers, acting under orders of their superiors. These Filipinos are not rebels, they are not insurgents, they never owed allegiance to our flag or our Government, and our assault upon them was the crowning act of treachery of our more than a century's existence.

The war we are prolonging there to-day at such an immense sacrifice of treasure and human life, our treasure, and the lives of America's own brave sons, if carried on by a lesser power, would be characterized as piracy and inhuman outrages, but because Republican beneficiaries seek new fields in which they may reap where they have not sown and gather where they have not strewn, we are maintaining an armed force over there greater than has been required in our history for over a third of a century, and call it war. I repeat, the Americans were the aggressors in the conflict with the Filipinos and began hostilities, firing the first shot. No one on this floor will deny it. The War Department will not deny it, for its own printed report states and proves the truth of my statement that such is the fact. Senate Documents Nos. 62 and 66 establish and confirm the tale. The records of the War Department that have been published tell much, but the secrets that remain hidden in the archives therein relating to this war, if they could be brought to light, published, and scattered broadcast over the land, would reveal so much more as would create a wave of indignation such as to sweep everyone responsible for present conditions into the sea of oblivion.

War still exists in the Philippines, and there is no hope for its

end, within the lifetime of any member of this House, by conquest of the struggling patriots. What a prospect is opened before us by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs [Mr. HULL] when he tells us that "we will maintain our authority in the Philippine Islands as long as the Republic endures." Think of that, ye descendants of Revolutionary sires who stood in battle array at Lexington and Bunker Hill, at Yorktown and Valley Forge, who gave their lives that our nation might be, and be a nation where freedom dwelt and liberty had its home. That this great Republic, whose greatest glory has been in its spirit of independence, and has towered aloft far in the advance of the world's progress, "enlightening the world," shall seek to crush out the life of a people struggling to be free, a people who are battling in the same cause for which their forefathers have waged war these three centuries past and inspired by the memory of the glorious heritage their fathers left them, the hope of some day being free, are now striking "for the green graves of their sires, God, and their native land."

It would seem that the bare recital or reading of the injustice of our deeds in those islands would be sufficient to cause the administration of any republic to at once, with honor and self-respect, withdraw therefrom our forces and permit the peaceful continuance of the established government that has existed therein independent and in spite of our control. But there are other crimes than that of injustice and oppression of a foreign race that lie at the Republican chieftain's door. There is inhumanity to our own soldier boys. Dark and damnable is the record shown by the reports made by officers both of the Army and Navy, supplemented and extended by the testimony of hundreds of private soldiers who have gone through all the horrors of a living death on rotten, overcrowded transports, with insufficient food, and even that reeking with corruption, and then, on arrival at Manila and island stations, have vice, disease, brutality, hardship, and insanity as their ghastly escort day by day and night by night.

Read the report of the Surgeon-General of our Army for the last three years, and see how, in the record of sick in the army in the Philippines, there have been over 175,000 admissions into the hospitals of our soldier boys who left their homes possessed of the most rugged health and strength. Of all these on the sick list only a trifle over 2 per cent were there because of gunshot wounds or wounds received in battle. All through the report of the Surgeon-General you will find facts bearing upon and testifying in mighty strength of the shameful treatment and neglect of the private soldier and the more awful influence for debauchery that is at work there, permeating and demoralizing the physical and moral strength of our Army.

Then, too, there is the record of hundreds of our soldiers who have become insane in the island army and have been brought back to the United States in fetters. Why, in reading the official reports of the condition of our loved soldier boys in the Philippines, one is reminded of the horrors of the negro slave trade before a Wilberforce brought about an amelioration of its woes; and all this in the closing years of nineteenth century civilization and under the auspices of a Government claiming to be in the vanguard of righteousness, justice, and enlightened Christian sentiment. But "war is hell," and these things, we are told, are the necessary incidents connected with the conduct of war.

There is no Democrat in this House who would lift his voice or cast his vote against any proposition for war if the honor and integrity of our country were at issue; but our troops now are being sent across the seas, led into danger, disease, and death without just cause or provocation. The honor of our country is not at stake in the prosecution of the war; the glory and dignity of our flag is not assailed. That banner of freedom does not lead our Army to-day in freedom's cause; the sword that flashed in the sunlight at Bunker Hill for liberty is not drawn to-day in the defense of liberty; but on the contrary our flag flies as the emblem of an oppressor, and the glittering steel, crimsoned with the red blood of the dying Filipino, is the sword of the buccaneer and tyrant. [Applause.] Oh, that some gifted soul might be inspired to write another "Uncle Tom's Cabin," to portray the hideous wrongs we are permitting to be perpetrated in the name of humanity!

The solution of the Philippine problem is not an impossibility, nor is it a Gordian knot that needs to be cut by the sword. Statesmen, philosophers, scholars, philanthropists, and shrewd men of business affairs, as well as military and naval men of high rank, have all borne testimony to the fact that we can reach a peaceful solution of the matter in a very short time, with no sacrifice of honor or prestige, but with an added glory to our name. We can give to an oppressed people freedom; to a race bowed down for years with the yoke of intolerance and servitude we can give liberty and all the rich blessings of a free education and the opportunity to develop a grand and noble manhood, and win for ourselves an approving conscience, the admiration of the world, and the eternal friendship and gratitude of an emancipated race.

Why is this not done? Why do we not act as a nation on the



impulse and prompting of a spirit of justice, honesty, and righteous duty? The answer is not hard to find. It requires no deep research to discover the why and the reason. The cause is so patent that "he who runs may read." This Administration is dominated and controlled by trust influence, and under the conditions existing popular hostility to their conduct counts but little and weighs in their plans not at all. The Republican party, at the dictation and command of the trusts, will not permit the passage of any legislation looking to the relief of any people or improvement of any condition, if such legislation in the least shall curtail any of their usurped privileges.

So potent is their domination, so complete the control, that they arrogantly boast of their power and dare to threaten, even in this Chamber, any who may oppose their wishes with their vengeance. And downward, all through the ramifications of the Government, their influence is made manifest. The Constitution is ignored, law defied, and their will and desire set up as the final ultimatum.

We find in the Philippines a military dictator who restricts the freedom of the press and of speech guaranteed by the Constitution, and takes upon himself to deport native citizen and American alike if they say ought to displease or offend his notions or criticize the acts of any of his thieving friends, in whose peculations he, it may be, shares.

It may be that if we continue to progress as rapidly in ambitious assumption and subversion of right as we have in the past four years, the day may speedily come when, in like manner as in days of old, some consul with his legions may return from the provinces swelled with ambition and greed and proclaim himself emperor by the divine right of an army at his back and financed by the trusts, which, under his protection, have grown and prospered upon the rich franchises given them in the islands of the sea. The only reason why we remain in Cuba, in the Philippines, in any place outside of our own rightful domain, is simply and solely that favored trusts and syndicates may reap advantages from franchises, monopolies, and exclusive privileges given them by the Administration in this outside territory, and it is because of our failure to remedy this state of affairs, because Congress has been unfaithful to duty, that we will be rightfully censured and blamed.

Whenever an attempt has been made to bring about some change in conditions and enact just laws, immediately the trust agents here have taken alarm, and for two hours cry aloud, "Great is Diana!" "Our craft is in danger," creating such confusion and so darkening the subject with verbosity of speech that they succeed in landing remedial measures in the privacy of a committee pigeon-hole. The National Watchman well reviews the situation when it says:

Since the present Administration took office the affairs of the United States have been practically neglected. Most of the time and attention of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments have been taken up in considering the needs of a lot of comparatively worthless islands. If our readers will only look back, they will find that McKinley's four years might be summed up in the phrase, "Much ado about nothing." It has been Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines; Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines; and the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico. And apparently this gamut is to continue indefinitely. For recently we have had our Chinese imbroglio, and there is no telling what will be next. Meanwhile the inexhaustible resources of the United States are neglected or going to ruin.

The great arid regions of the West, capable of supporting 50,000,000 people in comfort, are lying waste for want of the expenditure of a tenth of the capital wasted on the worthless Philippines. Millions of acres of lands along our rivers and coasts need only draining to make them the most productive of lands. Our forests are being denuded, and so on all along the line. This is the course that has brought ruin to empires as well as to individuals. Neglect of home affairs and wasted energy abroad might be written as the epitaph of departed nations. Let the people pause, consider, consult, and advise together, and when the opportunity again comes, and the madness of 1890 has passed away, restore the Government to the old conservative lines laid down for it by the fathers of the Republic.

Imperialism in free America should be at once and forever done away with, the sovereignty of the people maintained and exercised, and Congress, representing the people, should never for one moment permit any encroachment on its rights, privileges, and duties by any other power, judicial or executive. If the Republican majority in Congress, Senators and Representatives, were true and loyal American citizens, they would be quick to resent the wrongful assumption of authority by the present Executive and Cabinet. Every Department official should be brought to realize that he is but a servant of the people, and in the performance of his duties he should seek only to conserve the interests of all the people. This would be the state of affairs if only good men and true were placed in these positions, but I am afraid that under so strict a rule there would be many vacancies.

In this connection I wish to allude to a proposition in the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, made in view of the fact that some thirty or forty thousand new soldiers will soon be needed to meet the Administration needs in the Philippines, that "the college presidents and professors, the editors of religious and other papers, the clergy, and all others of military age who have been known to favor this enterprise of conquest and so-called work of civilization as a call from on high" be summoned to form this army of new recruits to be sent to Manila. If to these we add the trust mag-

nates and their satellites, we will have a very appropriate army to civilize, elevate, enlighten, and benevolently assimilate the millions of the Filipinos, many of whom are even now the equals or superiors in intelligence, honor, virtue, and sobriety of any embraced in the list above given. [Applause.]

The Army bill has passed and become a law, and passed only to meet the requirements in the Philippines; but we are threatened with another bill, the Spooner bill, which proposes to confer upon President McKinley "all military, civil, and judicial powers" for the control of the Philippine Islands, thus giving him greater and more absolute imperial power than any monarch on the globe.

For two years this Administration has waged a war of conquest and extermination by a direct usurpation of constitutional power, and now a subservient party in Congress seeks to not alone ignore this roughshod invasion of the exclusive right of Congress to declare war, but to bestow upon the President all the autocratic power of a Nero. Under the provisions of the Spooner bill his word is the law, the judgment, and the sentence, from which there can be no appeal. At his pleasure he can grant franchises, subsidies, lands, and privileges with a royal hand, and no power to say him nay. He can confer all offices upon his favorites at will and tax the native Filipinos as he chooses to fill the coffers of his agents, and all his decrees he could enforce with his Army.

The first Administration of President McKinley will soon end. What a record it has made to go down into history. The building of the pyramids marked an epoch in Egypt's history, but the huge record of unjust and unrighteous discrimination, of surrender of country to party, and surrender of party to organized greed; the continuance of an unholy war and its burdensome taxation; the wild extravagance and scandals of great magnitude, all unite to build a pyramid of corruption and wrong before which the pyramids of Egypt are but as ant-hills in comparison.

The Dingley tariff bill is unjust and discriminates in favor of the syndicates and trusts. In the words of an ardent Republican, it "is the parent of trusts."

The war-revenue bill should be classed in the same category with the Dingley bill, as it, too, draws with unequal hand from the earnings of the poor.

This tax has approximated over \$150,000,000 yearly.

Let us see how the tax is distributed.

The following statement shows the amount of internal revenue collected under the war-revenue act from June 13, 1898, to March 31, 1900:

Objects of taxation.	Amount collected.
Cigars .....	\$5,202,091.00
Cigarettes .....	2,442,020.53
Snuff .....	1,641,281.57
Tobacco, chewing and smoking .....	27,070,113.79
Dealers in leaf tobacco .....	127,170.79
Dealers in manufactured tobacco .....	30,657.50
Manufacturers of tobacco .....	39,183.57
Manufacturers of cigars .....	446,724.89
Miscellaneous collections relating to tobacco .....	773,175.30
Fermented liquors .....	56,936,631.83
Additional collections on fermented liquors stored in warehouse .....	197,936.13
Mixed flour .....	14,154.75
Bankers, capital not exceeding \$25,000 .....	712,426.19
Bankers, capital exceeding \$25,000, for each additional \$1,000 in excess of \$25,000 .....	6,066,155.02
Billiard rooms .....	583,443.08
Brokers, stocks, bonds, etc. .....	559,356.13
Brokers, commercial .....	277,016.66
Brokers, custom-house .....	11,860.52
Brokers, pawn .....	71,756.33
Bowling alleys .....	90,626.46
Circuses .....	28,929.11
Exhibitions not otherwise provided for .....	148,759.50
Theaters, museums, and concert halls .....	97,729.39
Legacies .....	2,896,306.81
Schedule A .....	66,781,776.80
Schedule B .....	8,693,881.17
Excise tax on gross receipts .....	1,463,547.69
Total .....	183,405,292.45

This table shows that the principal sources from which the war tax is gathered are: (1) Fermented liquors (beer); (2) tobacco; (3) items scheduled as A and B. Elsewhere it appears that for the year 1899 the increase in the taxes over 1898 were as follows:

On fermented liquors .....	\$29,129,137
On tobacco .....	16,262,685
Schedules A and B .....	43,043,401

#### DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOR OF THE RICH.

The above statement shows not only the enormity of the war tax, but that it falls mainly on the poor and that the rich are largely exempt.

Beer and tobacco are consumed by the poor, and it is the consumer who in the end pays the tax.

The taxes embraced in Schedules A and B are also principally borne by the toiling masses. Patent medicines are used by them. The consignors and not the corporations pay for the stamps for



transmission of freight, telegraph messages, and express packages. A lease for a cottage is taxed as much as one for a mansion, a bank check for five dollars the same as one for a million, and a bill of lading for a barrel of potatoes as much as one for a cargo or a train load of products.

The rich are reached to a small extent through the tax on legacies, banking capital, bonds, etc., the total of which can hardly aggregate \$8,000,000 a year.

A small tax is imposed on telephone companies, petroleum and sugar refineries, pipe lines, palace and parlor car companies, but there is nothing in the law to prevent these corporations or the rich brewery and tobacco companies or the owners of patent medicines from increasing prices or charges, which they do, thus shifting the burden from their own shoulders to those of the patron and the consumer. Even the tax on legacies can in part be avoided by ante-mortem distribution.

We thus see that only about 6 per cent of the war tax is borne by the capitalistic class.

According to the United States Census Bulletin No. 98, issued January 24, 1895, the rich, who constitute only 9 per cent of our population, own 71 per cent of the wealth. It therefore appears that the few rich who own more than two-thirds of everything, pay only about one-sixteenth of the war tax, while the middle and wage-earning classes, who constitute 91 per cent of the people, and who own less than one-third of the wealth, pay about fifteen-sixteenths of it.

Such discrimination in a monarchy would be tyranny. In a republic it is little short of treason.

Unnecessary taxation is both tyranny and robbery. The records prove that the Republican Administration is guilty of this great wrong.

Then what has followed. After the President had announced in his annual message that it was the "plain duty" of Congress to provide for free trade with Porto Rico, a part of the United States, the sugar trust influences were great enough to cause him to face about and demand a tariff, which Congress meekly granted.

An anti-trust bill was passed by the House and was in good time to have been acted upon by the Senate. The Democrats made several ineffectual efforts to have it taken up, but objections were always made by Republican Senators.

Through the obstinacy of the Administration in endeavoring to force a ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the Nicaragua Canal bill failed of passage in the Senate.

The Army transport service has cost the Government millions of dollars and will continue to be a heavy drain so long as an army is maintained across the seas. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been thrown away in attempting to make serviceable old hulks which promoters have worked off on the Government. Soldiers have suffered the most terrible hardships in crossing the seas on these Army transports.

One of the big scandals of the war with Spain came about through the expenditure of \$29,973,274 by the Navy Department for vessels to be utilized as auxiliary warships. Ships ranging from indifferent to useless were purchased at enormous prices. Since the termination of the war, they are being sold at a small percentage of their cost.

Nothing which occurred during the war aroused the public to a higher pitch of indignation than the feeding of rotten beef to the army in Cuba.

Beef contractors reaped rich harvests, while soldiers by the hundreds were going into hospitals from eating the meat upon which they were obliged to subsist.

Desperate efforts have been made by the Administration to suppress the truth, but they have only served to emphasize the rottenness of the system of the Commissary Department as it was conducted during the war.

One hundred thousand dollars were spent by the Administration on a commission created to whitewash Alger, Eagan, and the embalmed beef.

Among the most unsavory of the scandals is that of the National City Bank of New York City. This bank, dominated by the Standard Oil Trust, was enabled through Secretary Gage and a potent political pull to invade the United States Treasury.

The cause of the favoritism shown the National City Bank by the Administration is shown in the following letter:

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK,  
New York, June 5, 1897.

MY DEAR MR. GAGE: The National City Bank of this city, of which I recently became vice-president through the consolidation of the business of the Third National with it, is one of the banks designated as a United States depository, and I write to request that in any changes which may be made under the administration we may not be disturbed in this respect. We should like to remain a United States depository as at present. Of course the bank is very strong, and if you will take the pains to look at our list of directors, you will see that we also have very great political claims in view of what was done during the canvass last year.

Yours, very truly,

A. B. HEPBURN.

Hon. LYMAN J. GAGE,  
United States Treasury, Washington, D. C.

Senators ALLEN, VEST, and others made charges repeatedly in the Senate against Secretary Gage, which the Administration leaders did not deny, pursuing the policy of silence in order that the scandal might be hushed, if possible.

The latest scandal of the McKinley Administration is that connected with the Cuban postal service. Defaulter Neely and his accomplices stand to-day charged with stealing \$100,000. Investigation has shown that the Cuban postal system for more than a year has been a prolific source of fraud and embezzlement.

Charles F. W. Neely was the choice of Perry S. Heath, then First Assistant Postmaster-General, for the treasurership of the postal service in Cuba.

Later this Perry S. Heath resigned and became secretary of the Republican national campaign committee. Implicated with Neely in this steal was Major Rathbone, through whose agency, as shown by the report of the Ohio State senate, Senator HANNA bought his seat in the United States Senate.

Comment upon these items is unnecessary. They are familiar to you all, and every one is substantiated by the official records of the Government.

With the advent of the second Administration of President McKinley will come the completion of the gigantic steel monopoly, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan, with its billion and more of capital, and then will follow the passage of the \$180,000,000 ship-subsidy grab, if the loyal hearts in this Congress are able to prevent its consummation before the 4th of March.

It may be that by the coercion of the Administration, the threat of an extra session, and the influence of the throng of lobbyist working in its interests the bill may reach us and be crowded through; and I wish to present a few features of the bill, and first I want to give the definition of subsidy as made by the Gridiron Club of this city:

S stands for Subsidy,  
Otherwise Pelf;  
Meaning One for my Country  
And Two for Myself.

[Laughter and applause.]

The supporters of the ship-subsidy bill explain its introduction by saying that we need more American vessels engaged in foreign trade. They cite the fact of a great decline in American shipping and give us the reasons therefor: First, that the cost of construction is greater in the United States than in Great Britain or Germany; second, that the cost of operating vessels under the American flag is greater than under foreign flags; and as a third reason they cite causes based on foreign legislative encouragement.

They then propose as a remedy this bill, giving a subsidy of \$9,000,000 annually for twenty years to American shipowners under very peculiar and astonishing conditions. To show that these claims are incorrect one need only remember that one of the principal items in the cost of construction of steel ships is the steel plates of which the whole ship, except her machinery and rigging, is built. According to the last report of the Commissioner of Navigation, the price of steel ship plates in the United States in September last was \$24.64 per ton, and in Great Britain \$38.88 per ton, so that the principal material used in the construction of a ship was over one-third cheaper in the United States than in Great Britain.

Another great item in the cost of building a steamship is her machinery. It is a fact well known and conceded to-day that American machinery is now made better and sold cheaper in all the markets of the world than the corresponding product of other nations. Therefore, both in ship plates and in machinery, America is now able to compete with the world. The rate of wages is somewhat higher in American shipyards than in British it is true, yet it is admitted that American workmen with American machinery turn out a much greater product per man than foreign workmen. Add to this the fact that American workmen in this industry generally work one hour per day longer than the British, and we then understand why a steamship can now be built as cheap in America as in any country.

If this bill becomes a law, we shall be paying more than one-third of the world's subsidy, with less than one-twentieth of the tonnage. There is no assurance that our tonnage will be increased by this, for some of the nations, which, like Norway, pay the smallest subsidies, make the greatest increases in the growth of their shipping. We are now paying a greater subsidy per ton than other nations, and our shipping increases less rapidly. These facts show that shipping does not increase in proportion to subsidies.

But there is another reason for the ardent support which this particular subsidy measure is receiving in certain quarters. It is a reason not set forth in the bill itself or by its supporters, yet it is potent with the promoters of the measure, and one that should receive the careful consideration of American lawmakers before they vote. This unmentioned cause is the expectation that the bill will materially aid in the creation of a great ocean steamship trust.

The conclusive evidence that this is what it is intended for is



contained in the measure itself, and in the facts set forth in House and Senate reports. For example, the bill provides that the \$9,000,000 subsidy per year shall be distributed among vessels owned and built in the United States, and among such foreign-built steamships as were on the 1st of January, 1900, engaged in foreign commerce, and owned and contracted for by American citizens or American corporations, or by foreign corporations of which the majority of the stock is owned by American capitalists. This provision is a palpable act of favoritism in the interest of those privileged individuals or corporations who for a considerable time prior to January 1, 1900, had the exclusive information that this provision was to be inserted in the law.

With this bill enacted into law, and contracts already made securing to them annually a gift of \$9,000,000 of the people's money taken in taxes, they will be in a position to complete the organization of their ocean ship trust, and to use the subsidy as a weapon to exterminate all competitors. That they will do this can not be reasonably doubted, when it is known that the men behind the job are the Standard Oil officers and their associates, who have largely destroyed free competition in transportation, both in the oil trade and in other industries in the United States, through large discriminations. They also heavily dominate the transportation franchises of the great cities.

Farmers and all other producers and merchants should be warned in time of the danger which menaces them through this bill. For it will be found that under its operation a transportation syndicate may have all exporters to foreign markets as completely at their mercy in ocean transportation as the Standard Oil Company now has the oil producers.

The bill affords opportunity for fraud by providing that a vessel can draw subsidy if her cargo space is sold or contracted for, even if no freight is carried.

The argument that the bill would aid in the export of agricultural products to the Temperate Zone in Asia is absurd, since the agricultural products of the Temperate Zone of Asia are already in competition with us in the world's markets.

The bill discriminates against the sailing vessels and in favor of steam vessels; against small steamers and in favor of large ones owned by great corporations. It puts the sailing vessels and smaller steamers at the mercy of the big monopoly, which will get the bulk of the subsidy, because of the excessive premium paid to the fast mail and passenger ships owned exclusively by the great corporations.

It is obviously designed that existing ships and those contracted for may absorb the whole of the \$9,000,000 subsidy, leaving no inducement to build new ships. Tank steamers, which are numerous, are making large profits now, and will get a great part of the subsidy. They are nearly all owned by the Standard Oil Company.

There is no provision in the bill stipulating that American labor shall get any share of the subsidy which, it is claimed, is to be paid out for the benefit of labor. Our highest duty commercially is to protect American citizens from discriminating laws and to prohibit monopoly.

Mr. Chairman, I am and have been, in common with the many representatives of business interests in the country, favorable to the passage of a fair and equitable ship-subsidy bill, one that fairly and justly meets all the requirements of our great merchant-marine interests, but I am heart and soul opposed to any monopoly, any bill, which, like the one in this Congress, so plainly discriminates against the people and tends to the enrichment of the few.

I fully concur in the words used by the President in his letter accepting the nomination of the last Republican convention. "We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors." But that is no argument in favor of this subsidy steal. We can and do build ships in American yards, and as late as December 9 last, Mr. J. J. Hill, then president of the Great Northern Railroad, said that he had made careful investigation in the building of ships, both in this country and on the Clyde, and found that he could have them constructed here at a much lower figure than in Scotland. I also have a letter from Charles H. Cramp, president of the great Cramp Shipbuilding Company, bearing date January 2, 1901, in which he says: "We possess at home the materials, the capital, and the skill, all sufficient to build all the vessels that are needed."

If we could but have an Administration that was thoroughly American, and had to its heart's core the interests of the American people as supreme, instead of bending every energy for foreign favor, for class legislation, the robbing of the many for the profit of the few, then there might be some hope in the breast of the American citizen for a fair and equitable adjustment of the burdens as well as the privileges of life.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I have to speak of another chapter in the record of Republican hypocrisy and double dealing. For years that party has made pretension of being the only genuine, simon-

pure friend of the soldier. With the advent of every campaign they have stood in the market places and in the chief seats of the synagogues shouting that the Republican party, saved the Union, the Republican party paid the soldiers, the Republican party was the only hope of the veteran, that the Republican party would rather perish than forget the old veteran, and crocodile tears would mingle with the grime on their cheeks as they raised their hands toward Heaven and swore to do the soldier justice.

How have they kept their oath? What faith have they kept with the soldier? In the remaining portion of my time I wish to address myself to you in regard to the soldiers of the past. The treatment of our soldiers to-day by a Republican Administration is common knowledge and common conversation, so let me revert to some conditions existing in regard to pension legislation for the veterans.

Mr. Chairman, I do not stand here to-day as the defender of the American soldier. He needs no defense nor panegyric. His record is made in history. His grand achievements and heroic deeds have created for him an imperishable monument. Years may pile themselves upon years, building century after century, yet the valor and glory of American soldiery shall not perish from the memory of man. From the early days of our nation's struggle for its birth, when the revolutionary hero fought for liberty and a home, through the dark hours of the civil war, when brother's hand was raised against brother in fratricidal battle for the preservation of the Union, down to this immediate day, when against Spanish tyranny our soldiers took the field in the name of humanity, the regular soldier, the militia, and the volunteer have shown themselves to be deserving of the highest encomiums for their gallantry, their bravery, and their patriotic, noble-minded conceptions of duty and the unfaltering discharge of that duty. [Applause.]

All over this land of ours, from the "rock-bound coast" of the Atlantic to the widening waves of the Pacific, from the cool waters of the Northern lakes to the sun-kissed Southern Gulf, in countless cities, villages, and hamlets, a grateful people, as citizens, have built monuments of bronze and monuments of stone to commemorate and preserve their memories, and in homes without number, to youth and children are repeated the tales of their forefather's achievements.

Year after year, as each springtime comes in all its panoply of flower and bloom, we gather the choicest and fairest blossoms and lay them tenderly upon the graves of those who have died in their country's defense, and speak words of honor for them, while soft music rises as incense upon the wings of the fragrant air.

No, the American soldier needs no defense, he needs naught to perpetuate his memory among his comrades, and among the fire-sides, under the rooftrees from which he departed.

Mr. Chairman, I am a lover of our Republic. I cherish its institutions, I honor and revere our Constitution and all the principles upon which the fathers laid broad and deep the foundations of our nation, and may God grant that the day may never come when a free people in this free land will cease to breathe the air of the glorious liberty which is their right and grand heritage; and yet, sir, I look back with admiration upon certain phases in the characters of an Alexander, a Caesar, and a Napoleon. They led great armies to great victories. They inspired the most humble soldier in the ranks to deeds of valor; they kept alive the most enthusiastic esprit de corps, because every member of their legions felt that the eye of the leader was upon him, and that after the battle was over, the campaign ended, the wearisome marching brought to a close, that the gratitude of the leader, whose victories the common soldier made possible, would follow and seek him out, and to him would come the decoration, the reward, the pension, which his bravery and sacrifices had deservedly won.

These leaders were not ungrateful, but, sir—and it is a sad commentary upon our times—"Republics are ungrateful." Scarce a generation has passed away since within the walls of this Chamber even could be heard the reverberations of cannon's roar as shot and shell flew between contending armies, the tread of whose feet almost shook this very hall, and yet the battle-scarred veterans of that conflict are given scant courtesy by the Government to-day, a government which their deeds, their blood, and their lives made possible to exist at this hour.

It is true we have a Pension Bureau, as an adjunct to the Department of the Interior, with its officers by the scores and clerks by the hundreds, and each year pay out over a hundred million dollars to pensioners. But is that all that is necessary; is there nothing more needed to meet the demands of simple justice and common gratitude? Go ask the old soldier who stood on the firing line where bullets flew the thickest, and now, aged and diseased, seeks recognition; go ask the struggling widow of the soldier whom she nursed and cared for through years of almost unendurable pain, brought on by exposure on battlefield and in camp in the days of 1861 to 1865. There is not a member of this House who has not heard the story of some poor soldier's wrongs and the injustice which he has received at the hands of this Government,



through the administration of its Pension Office. In my own district there are over 5,000 veterans of the civil war now living, and I wish that every member of this body might go with me among them and listen, as I have, to the story of their wrongs. There is not one among you, hardened and blinded by partisan prejudice though you may be, but whose heart would be touched and melted at the bare recital.

It is not true that these soldier claimants are beggars or mercenaries. They did not hesitate and hold back when their country called them and demand hard and fast bargains as to their future treatment. No; they only saw that the country they loved was imperiled, and they gave up all and rushed to save the country's life, even at the sacrifice of their own. They gave no thought of money; that was left to the vampires and ghouls of Wall street, whose successors to-day are holding the country in their grasp and robbing the people of their hard-earned savings by legalized highway robbery. Enormous as is the total of pensions paid out to survivors of the war, it is but a bagatelle in comparison to the actual profit realized by the holders of the bonds of the Government bought by them at a pittance and paid at par during the sixties alone.

The man who left his home on the farm or went from the shop, the office, or the store to battle for his flag was not moved by greed, and thousands spurned the thought of going to a hospital, even when sick or wounded, if by any means they could remain with their comrades, and thus obtained no hospital record, and upon return to their homes shunned the Pension Office as a pest-house until the hour when they might have obtained proof of their disability went by. Every man who took part in the civil war, every man to-day capable of reasoning and observation, knows that members of the different companies and regiments are scattered far and wide, over mountain and sea and plain, and that it is almost an impossibility for many to locate their comrades, and our laws require of them an impossibility. Our laws must, then, be wrong; and who makes the laws? It is supposed that Congress does, but it seems that Congress has delegated its law-making powers to the head of a Bureau, for rules are promulgated and enforced that have no shadow or excuse from statute.

At the very outset, in his application for a pension, the soldier meets with an invidious distinction. To establish his claim he must have the evidence of one commissioned officer or two comrades, as if the granting of a commission to a man clothed him with undeviating truth, while a private could only be depended upon to tell half the truth. There were about 2,750,000 soldiers engaged in the war, and the applicant for pension has the whole burden of proof "beyond reasonable doubt" thrown upon him, and he must search among the highways and byways to find two comrades to testify in his behalf, and even then it is not enough. Evidence sufficient to convict and hang a dozen men is piled up in case after case before the Pension Office only to be rejected or aborted in some pigeonhole.

Then what can the claimant do? Why, he has sixty days after his rejection to humbly ask the Bureau to reopen his case and review the action and see if there has not been an error made. The Bureau reviews itself, pats itself approvingly, and says, "We were right; the rejection stands." When once a decision is made by this omniscient Bureau it stands, its judgments are immutable, its knowledge is unerring, and all the experience and wisdom of the world combined is as naught as against some of the asinine pronouncements of its medical referee. [Applause.] But there is another step. Dissatisfied with his rejection, the unfortunate claimant takes an appeal to the honorable the Secretary of the Interior, and here he is met with the statement that there are enough appeal cases ahead of him to take up two years' time of the board of appeals and that he must wait his turn; that his case will be taken up in regular order, and it is submitted to another branch of the Pension Bureau, which courteously indorses the previous action of the Bureau and says the rejection stands. By this time the claimant is usually dead or half crazed over the wearisome and unnecessary delay he has been subjected to.

To the ordinary mind the treatment accorded the average claimant before the Pension Bureau justifies the conviction that it is the aim of the Government to thwart the object of the law and prevent the granting of a pension; then, too, the declaration of the Administration that the "moneyed interests of the country" are opposed to extension of pension legislation or enlargement of the pension roll. The Republican party is true to its character in its position as to pensions, as it is hypocritical and contemptible. In its greed for power it has used the old comrades as a stepping-stone, appealing to all the bitter feelings of their nature, striving to keep alive and stirred up sectional hatred in their hearts, so that their political allegiance and assistance might be had. For years that party sought to run the Grand Army of the Republic as a branch of the Republican party, and gave them soft and flattering words to the face while treacherously knifing them in the back.

In the days of President Harrison a soldier was appointed Com-

missioner of Pensions, who sought to do justice to the pensioners. Then the political gangsters, the syndicated agents of trusts, and all the real leaders of the Republican party assailed him, villified and abused him without mercy or justice, sought to drag him in the dirt and mire of their own foul associations and cover him with obloquy, until at last they succeeded in having him removed, and in the halls of this legislative Chamber the Republican party has been equally as hypocritical in its attitude toward the old soldier. Promises and pledges to the soldier have been made by that party without stint or limit, but legislation and acts have been handed out in veriest dribbles.

We have had our Invalid Pensions Committee, and since 1896 I know it has been organized in the interest of the soldier, but there has not been a measure proposed or brought before that committee of a general nature that would benefit the soldiers but that the influence of the Administration has been brought against it to secure its defeat. Devious are the ways and many the means used to bring about these results. It has not been by mere subversy and surrender to open demand, but by use of flattery and subtle argument in raising partisan questions, making the patriotic soldier of less account than party considerations. In this way the majority of measures friendly to the veterans' interests have been crushed in committee or met open defeat at the hands of their hypocritical Republican friends upon the floor of the House.

Almost daily we are confronted with the charge that the time of the clerks in the Pension Bureau is taken up to an alarming extent in answering calls made by members of Congress in behalf of claimants. Perhaps this is true, but it is only the result of the inaction and neglect of that Department. After a claimant has filed evidence upon evidence, taken examination after examination, and then waits year after year with no action being taken by the Commissioner, it is time that some member of Congress steps in and has the claim resurrected and brought forth from the pigeonhole where it has lain until covered with dust and the ink almost faded. And even then, forsooth, your member must certify that the claimant is a bona fide resident of his district and that the request is not made in behalf of any pension attorney, or his high mightiness, the Commissioner of Pensions, occupant of an office by you created, will not consent to give even the meager information that the case will be given consideration to see if it can be given settlement when reached in regular order.

It is not the personality of the Commissioner. Many are the favors I have received at the hands of the gentleman at the head of the Pension Bureau, and they are deeply appreciated; but it is that the rules of the Department are unjust and discriminating against the soldier instead of being fair and impartial.

But I am told that the rulings are all in the line of the law. If that be true, then the laws are wrong and should be repealed.

The Grand Army of the Republic comes here before us through its accredited representatives and presents a bill seeking to create a court of pension appeals. Will this bill favored by the Grand Army remedy the evils existing and apparent to every fair-minded man? No; but it will help to make it better for the soldier, and for every little help I will be thankful. The Interior Department and the Pension Bureau also presents a bill meeting its approval as covering conditions needing revision. Will the bill of the Interior Department settle the question or remedy the evil? No; I am sure it will not; but it may be of a little benefit to the old soldier, and I shall stand by the soldier every time. [Applause.]

The measure known as the Grand Army bill provides for the creation of a court of appeals, to be separate and distinct from the power, control, or influence of the Pension Department; its members, holding their position by a life tenure, would not be moved or affected by the exigencies of any passing political moment; no partisan cry would reach their ear, but they would sit in calm, judicial deliberation, weighing evidence and deciding questions brought before them according to long-established rules of evidence, not according to the whim and caprice of a mere underling in some Department or to please an official head of a bureau or Administration.

Such a court, if it could have been or could be established, would go a long way in removing the feeling of just contempt and righteous indignation which fills the hearts of thousands of the boys in blue whenever they think of the Pension Department. Then, too, we would have a body sitting upon pension cases who would not take the position of some of the present pension officials in regard to pension applicants of the war with Spain, who, speaking as if with authority, say, "We do not favor granting them pensions; they are mostly young men, and pensions make them lazy and are bad for their morals." Ah, how it makes one's blood hot within him to behold the callousness and conceit of some of these nonentities who for a brief hour are placed in position where they are permitted to decide questions affecting heroes, soldiers brave and true, the latchet of whose shoes they are not worthy to touch; nor are they possessed of brain power sufficient to enable them to recognize evidence when it is presented to them. It is



with the most profound regret that I see this Grand Army bill sidetracked and defeated. The potent arm of Administration influence is too strong to permit its consideration and passage.

The bill presented in its place, formulated and indorsed by the Interior Department, provides that a certain number of cases may be selected among pension appeals, and presented to the Supreme Court of the United States for adjudication as test cases, and the decisions so rendered are to be the rules governing all similar cases. This is very good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. It can only reach such cases as the partisan Department chooses to bring before the court, or afterwards, to decide as being within the purview of the court's judgment. It in fact takes from the soldier the right of individual appeal and leaves him at the mercy of the same irresponsible board of review and final medical referee that now pass upon his case.

There is need that the pension laws should be revised, that the rules and regulations of the Department be completely remodeled along lines of justice and right. There is need that there should be a turning out of inefficient in the board of review, in the medical referee division, and in the board of appeals, and a competent, unprejudiced, intelligent set of men put in these places, if the boards are to remain, so that those who in the hour of the nation's deadliest peril gave their early manhood to its salvation should not in their old age be left to die a lingering death of starvation and neglect. [Applause.]

The veteran of the civil war is fast passing away. His sands of life are rapidly falling, and soon he shall be known only to memory, but he is linked by endearing ties of blood and affection to nearly every home in the land, and every touch of kindred feeling should be moved, that gratitude be shown him for the achievements and benefits rendered by him in days gone by. The same humanity should be invoked in his behalf, which forced an unwilling Administration to declare war in behalf of struggling Cuba.

There are many other interests demanding consideration, and they deserve it; but "this also ye should have done, and not left the other undone." Humanity cries aloud; justice appeals to you—forget not your country's savior! Let there come from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South, the voice of grateful millions saying, "Give to our heroes, to their widows and orphans, the just desert which by their undaunted bravery and whole-hearted patriotism they made it possible for our country to enjoy," and let us hearken to their cry, and also to the Macedonian cry of the soldiers, "Come and help us," and as we look for gratitude, justice, and mercy, may we act so that our country may lead the world in its recognition of its defenders and preservers. [Applause.]

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts. I ask the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee [Mr. HITT] whether it is the intention to close general debate now.

Mr. HITT. No. It is our intention that the consideration of the bill be resumed at a subsequent session. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. GROSVENOR having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. LANDIS reported that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13850) making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and had come to no resolution thereon.

EULOGIES ON THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE DALY, OF NEW JERSEY.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The hour for the special order having arrived, the Clerk will read the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. SALMON, by unanimous consent, it was ordered that February 9, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, be set aside for tributes of respect to the memory of the late W. D. DALY, a Representative from New Jersey.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House now proceed to the consideration of the special order, and I ask the adoption of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolutions will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. DALY, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of New Jersey.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for fitting tribute to his memory.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate, and transmit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as an additional mark of respect the House, at the conclusion of these memorial proceedings, do adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions which have just been read.

The resolutions were considered, and agreed to.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Speaker, one can not avoid being seriously impressed with the fact that life is uncertain and transitory when we recall that fourteen of the members of this House who were

elected in 1898 have been called away by death, and the term has not yet ended.

Among those who have been taken is WILLIAM D. DALY, of the Seventh Congressional district of New Jersey. He had served but one session, in which time, as all know, but little opportunity is given for a member to indicate his purposes or his ability, yet he had so clearly and ably comprehended the import of national legislation that he was ready to take part in the discussion of measures as few, indeed, can do in so short a service.

The records of the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress will ever contain sufficient expression from my honored colleague to show his industrious character and his devotion to the people's interest. He came to this Congress as he had always approached public duty, with an earnest intent to serve well the people who had sent him.

WILLIAM D. DALY was born in Jersey City June 4, 1851, of humble parentage, and when a boy, being large and strongly built, was thought to be well fitted for hard manual labor. He was, therefore, taken from school when but 14 years of age and engaged to learn the molders' trade in one of the principal foundries of his native city. In this line he showed great aptitude and skill, and after acquiring the trade he followed it until he was past 19 years old, when he left the foundry and entered the office of the late Stephen B. Ransom, on Montgomery street, in that city, to study law. He had improved his time in school so well that notwithstanding he was compelled to leave at so early an age he had already laid the foundation for a good business and professional education and had imbibed the stimulus which enabled him to prosecute his studies and develop and improve his mind while employed in learning and practicing his trade.

It was while he was studying law with Mr. Ransom, in the year 1873, that I first remember DALY. I was then studying in the office of Mr. Charles E. Scofield, in the same city. I did not become acquainted with him at that time, as I saw him only occasionally; but I well remember his jovial and genial manner and his vivacious and interested appearance as he mingled among old and young, seeming perfectly composed and earnestly intent on all occasions. These traits he bore till his death. During the first session of this Congress, when he was here with us, I associated with him a great deal, and became more and more impressed with his geniality and frankness, his simplicity yet strength of character.

Congressman DALY was a man of cultivated intellect, deep and comprehensive knowledge, broad and profound judgment, and of sincere and earnest desire to aid and serve his fellow-men. His life was one of constant toil. In school he had so improved his time that at the age of 14 he had gained a fair knowledge of the English branches of education. In the shop, while learning his trade and performing his allotted duties, he was mentally busy as well, acquiring and digesting information for future service. At the office of his preceptor he was diligent in studying the statutes and legal principles, with the purpose of applying them in actual practice.

He was admitted to the New Jersey bar as an attorney in June, 1874, and soon thereafter began the practice of his profession. Notwithstanding his hampered opportunities for acquiring an education, he had so devoted himself in his preparation that he soon rose to a high rank as a lawyer, and his learning and ability were recognized and acknowledged, not only by the community in which he dwelt, but by the courts and his brother lawyers. He was employed in many important cases, and is said to have represented more defendants charged with murder than any other lawyer of his years of practice in the State. In these cases no point of either law or fact was overlooked or omitted, and when a conviction resulted it was owing to the strength of the State's case and not to any neglect or mistake in presenting the defense. Mr. DALY never ignored the fact of his humble birth or early associations. His sympathies to the day of his death were ever with the common people who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. In 1878, when the freight handlers in the great Erie Railroad strike were arrested, he appeared as their counsel and secured their acquittal. In 1887 he defended the leaders of the Cigarmakers' Union in Jersey City, who were charged with conspiracy, and they also were acquitted.

As a recognition of his legal ability President Cleveland, in 1885, appointed Mr. DALY assistant United States district attorney, which office he held for three years, resigning the same after the inauguration of President Harrison.

His popularity brought him, in the fall of 1890, the nomination and election to the general assembly, being the lower house of the New Jersey legislature, and here he began his legislative career. At the close of the session of the legislature he was appointed, by Governor Leon Abbott, judge of the Hoboken district court, which office he filled until the fall of 1892, when he resigned upon his election to the New Jersey senate. Mr. DALY was elected senator again in 1895, filling that office for the years 1893 to 1898, inclusive. He was, therefore, not without legislative experience when he became a member of this Congress.



As a member of the house of assembly he was looked upon as a man of judgment and ability, whose opinions were worthy of support, and whose lead many were willing to follow. As a senator he was not only influential in his own party, but by his genial courtesy and logical argument wielded a mighty power over those of the political party opposed to him. He was constant and tireless in the pursuit of his object, and remarkably resourceful in his methods and arguments to win his opponents to his cause. He was of a positive nature, taking a firm stand for or against a proposition, and never changed his position on any important question. His decision was formed by the way in which the measure would affect the common people, and he chose that side which would, in his judgment, best serve the people. He was bitterly opposed to favoring special privileges as against equal rights. Mr. DALY was a strong partisan, yet he never complained of those who honestly differed with him. He relied upon reason and argument to bring strength to his cause, and had great faith that right would ultimately prevail.

He was honored also by his party in the State by being made alternate delegate to the national Democratic conventions of 1888 and 1892, and a delegate to the convention at Chicago in 1896, and to the convention at Kansas City in 1900. His last political work of importance was at the latter convention, where he tried hard to have withheld from the platform the special financial plank which was placed therein, believing that it was unwise, under the conditions then prevailing, for his party to continue the demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, and when the majority of the committee on resolutions determined to insert that plank, he framed, and succeeded in having placed in the platform, the clause which declared imperialism the paramount issue of the campaign.

Mr. DALY's ambition was to be governor of his State, and he was not without encouragement in this hope. His long service in the State senate had made for him strong supporters in all parts of the State, and his name was often mentioned in connection with that high office. In the gubernatorial convention of 1898 his popularity was so great that with reluctance on his part in urging his own nomination and strong efforts in behalf of the nominee, he received the votes of a large portion of the convention.

Truly death came to WILLIAM D. DALY like a thief in the night. The somber angel took him while he was away from his home, with no loving hand to press his chilling brow, and no loving voice to whisper consolation in his ear. The news of his death cast a gloom over the entire State. The attendance at his funeral was another evidence of the love and esteem entertained for him by the people of his city and State. Thousands gathered to bid a last adieu to the honored Congressman, and through streets thronged with people whose appearance denoted feeling of bereavement the funeral procession moved from his pleasant home to the church he was accustomed to attend and thence to the cemetery, and there in a beautiful spot overlooking New York Bay we laid all that was mortal of WILLIAM D. DALY.

Death is always sad, but doubly so when he comes as he did to our friend and colleague.

Mr. DALY was in the prime of life, not having lived the allotted time of man by a full score of years; but shall we question the right of Providence to send the dread messenger at such a time to take one whose life seemed to promise so much for his fellow-men? No! Let us rather bow our heads in humble submission, acknowledging our lack of wisdom and knowing that whatever He does is right.

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;  
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.  
We should count time by heart-throbs when they beat  
For God, for man, for duty. He most lives  
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.  
Life 's but a means unto an end; that end  
Beginning, mean, and end to all things—God.

[Mr. GARDNER of New Jersey addressed the House. See Appendix.]

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, on this sad occasion I desire to place on record my sincere and humble tribute to the memory of my friend and colleague, the late WILLIAM D. DALY, and in this connection to say a few simple, honest words regarding his life, his character, and his public services.

It was my good fortune to know Judge DALY well and intimately for years. We were great personal friends, and I admired and respected him as a man and a friend. His sudden, tragic, and unexpected death on the 31st day of last July was a grievous blow to us all and a terrible shock to his family, his relatives, his friends, and to the country generally. It was entirely unlooked for and came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It darkened a happy home, prostrated a loving family, distressed innumerable friends, and cast a pall of sadness over his native State which has not yet been dissipated. He died in the prime of life, at the summit of his remarkable career, in the zenith of his

well-earned fame, loved and mourned by all who knew him and appreciated his worth.

Life is but a day, at most,  
Sprang from night, in darkness lost.

WILLIAM D. DALY was born in Jersey City, N. J., on the 4th day of June, 1851, and had he lived until his next natal day would have been just 50 years of age. During all his life he ever remained a resident of his native State, and when he died he was one of her most popular and distinguished citizens and had the honor to represent the city of his birth in the people's branch of the American Congress.

Mr. DALY began life as a poor boy, and was the architect of his own career. He began with many disadvantages, but surmounted them all. He had vim, grit, hope, and perseverance. He plodded on and progressed by his own indomitable will and force of character. He never faltered, and won where others lost. He did not know the meaning of defeat. In the bright lexicon of his life there was no such word as fail. His whole life was a brilliant series of successes.

He was eminently a self-made man. He was a child of the Republic. He was a product of the public schools, but at a very early age he left school and began life's tempestuous battle as an apprentice in an iron foundry. Here, in his early boyhood days, he made many friends, who ever after were his trusted and loyal supporters. His work, however, in the iron foundry was uncongenial. His active mind and restless ambition soared higher. He wanted to be somebody. He sighed for a broader field of activity. He believed in himself, in his own ability, in his future, in his star of hope. He longed to be a lawyer, and believed the legal profession offered an attractive avenue for his hopes, his usefulness, and his best endeavors. He left the iron foundry, entered a law office, and threw his very life and soul into the study of Blackstone and Chitty, Kent and Story, Parsons and Washburn, and the other legal text-books. He was an indefatigable worker, a tireless student. He burned the midnight oil.

He mastered the intricacies of the law, and on reaching his majority was admitted to the bar and quickly made a splendid reputation as one of the most learned and best equipped lawyers in his State. He had eloquence and tact, patience and confidence, energy and industry. He studied his cases carefully and knew all the law and all the facts of every case intrusted to his care. He made his client's cause his own, and never went into court unprepared. He did not rely on luck or trust to chance. He knew a case well prepared is a case half won. He never took advantage of a client, never deceived the court, and had a magnificent reputation in his profession for fairness, probity, and honor. He was identified with some of the great trials in New Jersey, practiced in all the courts, was one of the great leaders of the bar, had represented, it is said, the defense in more capital cases than any other lawyer of his time, and ere his death he stood in the front rank of his chosen profession—a brilliant advocate and a safe counselor, learned in the law.

In recognition of his position at the bar, and in appreciation of his unquestioned legal ability, President Cleveland, during his first term, appointed Mr. DALY assistant United States district attorney, the arduous duties of which office he faithfully discharged, with much credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the Government and the people.

But, sir, it was not in the law alone where Mr. DALY excelled. He had always been a close student of public affairs, and had ever taken an active part in all political discussions. He was an ardent Democrat of the Jefferson and Jackson school, and thoroughly familiar with the political history of our country. During the last two decades of his life he had been a delegate to nearly all the local, State, and national conventions, and on account of his sagacity and political acumen his advice was always sought and his judgment generally followed by his political associates.

He was a magnetic campaign speaker, had a charming personality, and an earnest, sincere, honest way of presenting his facts that arrested attention and carried conviction. In every State and national campaign his services were always in demand and the work he performed duly appreciated by the managers and candidates of his party. Hence it is not a matter of wonder that his fellow-citizens elected him over and over again to the legislature of his State and took a just pride in his political preferment.

He was first elected to the assembly of his State in 1889 to represent the Eighth district of Hudson County, and although a new member, his party colleagues elected him unanimously as their leader on the floor. Events amply justified their confidence and their judgment. He made such a brilliant record that at the close of his term Governor Leon Abbett nominated him for judge of the district court of Hoboken, and the senate unanimously confirmed him. As judge he gave further evidence of his knowledge of the law. He was always impartial, courteous, patient, and humane, and became the idol of the bar and the ideal judge to the people.

In the year 1892 the people nominated him for State senator, and Judge DALY reluctantly resigned the judgeship to accept.



He was triumphantly elected, and reelected in 1895. He made a splendid record in the legislature for industry, ability, and integrity, and during the last five years of his senatorial career was the leader of his party in the senate by the unanimous choice of his party colleagues.

He came very near being nominated for governor of New Jersey in 1898, and if he had been nominated it is believed by those who claim to know that he would have been elected beyond a doubt. Failing to receive the nomination for governor, the people insisted that he should represent them in Congress. He was unanimously nominated for Representative in Congress for the Seventh New Jersey district, the district in which he was born, and on election day was triumphantly elected by the largest majority ever given a candidate in that district.

As a member of Congress, Judge DALY took a prominent part in all the great debates, and by his industry and ability, together with his courteous manner and genial way, soon won the respect and admiration of all his colleagues. When he passed away, on the very threshold of his Congressional life, he was making an enviable record for usefulness here, not only for the benefit of his constituents, but for the good of the whole country. We have missed him much this session, and as the days come and go we who knew him well will miss him more and more. The work he did for the people will live in the history of his State and of his country. That great work will grow brighter and brighter as the years pass by until it becomes his lasting monument, more endurable than marble or brass, and sacred in the hearts of his grateful countrymen.

We mourn and sympathize with his beloved family, but can find no words of comfort, no consolation, save in his noble life, his generous character, his sympathetic nature, and the great work he accomplished for humanity. His deeds of kindness, of charity, and of generosity will ever keep alive his memory and call to recollection his name a thousand times a day.

The memory of good deeds will ever stay  
A lamp to light us on the darkened way,  
A music to the ear on clamoring street,  
A cooling well amid the noonday heat,  
A scent of green boughs blown through narrow walls,  
A feel of rest when quiet evening falls.

Senator DALY was a true man, a lover of justice, a believer in the supremacy of law, a friend of every cause that lacked assistance. He stood for eternal principles of right, for fair play, and believed in the opportunity vouchsafed to everyone under the dome of the Union sky. He was an optimist and not a pessimist. He was no skeptic, no scoffer, no cynic. He was broad and liberal in his views, had charity for all, trusted the people, and never lost faith in humanity. He knew the world was growing better. He knew himself, believed in the destiny of the Republic, and made the corner stone of his political convictions that great cardinal principle—equal rights to all, special privileges to no one.

He hated cant, spurned pretense, and despised hypocrisy. He had no use for a trickster, a trimmer, or a trader. He had a sunshiny, genial disposition, and a forgiving spirit that never harbored revenge. He was a plain, simple man who loved mankind. He was an indulgent father, a kind and loving husband, and a faithful friend. He will live in the hearts of those he left behind, and to do this is not to die. He was an indefatigable worker and succeeded in accomplishing what he undertook to do. He met Napoleon's test—he did things. He was a true Democrat, the implacable foe of private monopoly, of unjust taxation, of organized greed, of discriminating legislation that robs the many for the benefit of the few, of special privilege, and he made the Constitution our great magna charta—the north star of his political life. He was the true friend of the toiler, the fearless champion of the oppressed, and the eloquent advocate of the downtrodden. He tried to lift his fellow-man up to a higher plane and help him forward on the highway of progress and civilization. He was a fearless man, and ever dared to do what he thought was right regardless of consequences. He was a faithful public official, and died in the service of his country. His work here is done. His career on earth is finished. He has run his course; he has kept the faith; he has fought the good fight; he has reaped his everlasting reward in the great beyond, and we, his friends, can all say truthfully, well done thou good and faithful servant, a grateful people will ever keep thy memory green.

In halls of state he stood for many years  
Like fabled knight, his visage all aglow,  
Receiving, giving sternly, blow for blow,  
Champion of right! But from eternity's far shore  
Thy spirit will return to join the strife no more.  
Rest citizen, statesman, rest; thy troubled life is o'er.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the suspension of affairs of state in the House of Representatives, and our resolving into an assembly of eulogy and sorrow, proclaims that another legislator has gone from his duties and cares, his toils and triumphs, to the peaceful slumbers of the tomb.

The flowers of eulogistic speech many times each year awaken the solemn echoes in this Hall.

Ours is the truly representative body of the American Republic. Jealous of their rights and interests, and these safeguarded by the form and manner of our election, the people each two years send their Representatives, directly bearing their commission, here to preserve their sacred institutions and to return to them in two years their rights and liberties unimpaired.

This system of direct and popular representation brings to this House a membership strong in the hearts and confidence of constituencies. Most of the members upon the floor have before coming here won the confidence of their people by official services at home, and as we glance about we see evidences of mature life in the faces and in the frost of winters on the heads of many here. To bodies like this and the Senate death must come, to sadden us, as it does the homes of those who are, almost weekly, dropping from among us.

When one has performed his Congressional duty within the compass of opportunities offered, he has won a prize of the highest distinction in the Republic, for his voice and vote represents 200,000 freemen.

WILLIAM DALY, whose death we mourn and whose character and services we eulogize, drew his inspiration for the performance of his public duties from the hearts of his people. I knew him well, and saw in Hoboken, N. J., his home, the heart to heart touch with his people. Circumstances, early in his Congressional career, brought me in close communion with the deceased, and the friendship engendered ripened, in the sweet hospitality of his home, into the closest mutual confidence and esteem.

He was a man of generous spirit and noble impulses and imbued with a feeling of democracy in all his acts and dealings.

These were the reflections of his early life and career. He was truly a public servant.

He served his people in many stations. They showered honors and distinction upon him.

The secret of his political success is found in that he served his people well.

Others will speak of his special traits of head and heart. I shall emphasize his life and career and his rise that typify in a pre-eminent degree true Americanism, and shows not only what may be accomplished by an American citizen, but shows the foundation and strength of the Republic itself.

Mr. DALY rose from the ranks of the shopmen to be a distinguished and honored member of this august body.

He never forgot them. Their interests were always his special care. The vote at each recurring election showed that he merited and received their confidence and support.

A journey with him through Jersey City, the place of his nativity, and its twin sister, Hoboken, his later home, showed me the exalted esteem in which the laboring people held him.

He met his friends, the smoke-begrimed man returning from work and the horny-handed son of toil in his Sunday clothes, with a genuine warmth of heart and generous show of affection, and in this we find the key of his success.

This, sir, is encomium enough, not only for the distinguished dead, but for the country he served so well. Our departed friend, who struggled up the hill of adversity to fame, does not suffer in his name and glory, but rises when brought in comparison with his colleagues on this floor who, like him, have won their places of honorable distinction from humble beginnings.

More than two-thirds of this body and the Senate, at some period of their lives, have labored with their hands for a living. To such a seat in the American Congress giving as it does an opportunity to protect the interests of the real conservators of the nation, is itself the highest panegyric.

It gives a rank with the great publicists of the world, for we represent a government of the people.

One who runs the gantlet of nomination, who bears the severe test of the lens of public scrutiny in election, and comes here representative of scores of thousands of intelligent, liberty-loving people, has won a badge of confidence unequalled and passed muster before a constituency that knows more politics than any other people in the world.

Our friend was always kind to and considerate of those upon whom fortune had not so generously smiled.

The newsboys, the working girls, the men who labored, were always the object of his special solicitude and care, and this endeared him to the rank and file.

Mr. DALY was a practitioner of rare ability in his chosen profession of law.

No one with a good case ever appealed to him in vain for his assistance.

The poor and the humble were his clients, and their cases received the same care and consideration as those of the rich and influential.

In his encouragement to the young and in his defense of the weak and lowly he emphasized in a marked degree in the legal



profession the generosity and charity always found in the true type of a lawyer.

He had a special aptitude and training for the practice of criminal law, and his services were sought throughout the State, and it is said that, in late years, he defended more capital cases than any other lawyer in New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, the spirit of our friend has been borne across that shadowy threshold into the mysterious never more. But, sir, no good man lives in vain. This world is better for having had the influence of the life and career of WILLIAM DALY.

No man can live in this world, possessing superior and manly qualities, but that the world is better for his living.

Each individual leaves his trace upon his time, growing and maturing in its fruit.

It may be slight when compared with the manifold influences that prevail, but it exists and will be felt.

A pebble thrown into the Atlantic from the shores of Virginia influences, infinitesimally though it may be, that ocean on the other shore.

All good acts and deeds bear their fruit.

These ceremonies are held to accentuate the good deeds of those who have won their places by fidelity to duty.

The power of the House of Representatives, its functions of government, lend a name and fame to those who enter its portals; but this is not enough, performance of duty must follow.

No higher devotion to duty has ever been known in public place than that exemplified in the membership of this House.

Take, as an illustration, the chairmen of the great committees. Slaves to duty.

Toiling day after day, week after week, till it grows into months, with their nightly vigils, in their work in preparation of bills for report and in their management of them on the floor.

The new members showing a like fidelity in the care of their volume of correspondence and in their interceding for constituents at the vast Departments of the Government and in the manifold cares and duties known to every one within the sound of my voice.

But, sir, they represent constituencies that have singularly honored them, and they perform their several duties with ability, care, and alacrity. That our distinguished and lamented member, Mr. DALY, performed his duty in a full measure to the nation, to his State, and to his people, will be the lasting and final judgment of every member on this floor.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the death of WILLIAM D. DALY came as a surprise to his associates. He was comparatively young. He had been active at the bar and in the politics of his native State, and came here with hope and ambition, expecting to turn a State reputation into one that was national. We knew that he was not in good health, but we felt that his abundant energy would carry him through a long life and bring to pass some of his expectations.

He was born in 1851, in the county of Hudson, which he represented. His whole life was spent in that county; his only education was in its public schools. At 14 he went to work with his hands in a foundry; at 19, with the ambition that was always his characteristic, he began the study of the law, and after four years took his place at the bar.

From the beginning he made himself felt. His practice was mostly in those cases which, after all, are of the greatest interest, not only to the lawyer, but also to the public.

Cases which involve the defense of those who are accused, which bring up the question of who did the deed, and at the same time seek for the motive with which it was done; cases which appeal to the sympathies, which call for all the judgment and all the power of a lawyer to marshal facts, with all the influence that can be brought, not only upon the mind but the heart of a jury—these are cases which fascinate the advocate and the people; and in them Mr. DALY took his place from the beginning as a leading lawyer. He tried more capital cases, it is said, than anyone else in the State.

He grew to have a host of friends. Not all of us agree with all that he did; certainly not with all that he maintained. His life was not altogether happy; but he had at least this mark of a really successful life, that those who most opposed him always liked him. If he made what he made easily, he spent generously and lavishly. He seemed careless of himself and careless of what he had, and his gifts were given with a generous hand that brought him a multitude of friends, who felt that he had a heart.

As has been said here, he was brave. His thoughts were his own. He stood and fought for his views in and out of his party. He did not hesitate to leave the greater part of the Democracy of New Jersey on the great question that was at issue in the last two campaigns.

He entered politics because his character demanded it. He was assistant district attorney, then member of the legislature, then for six years a member of the New Jersey State senate, and then

elected from his native county to come here. His is a life which speaks to young men and tells them that even in the oldest part of America, where society has fallen most into grooves, there is a chance for every man who really cares for public interests, who really has courage, who really will fling away himself in order to do that which he thinks ought to be done, and who will turn his ambitions to the discussion of those great questions in which every man has an interest.

Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM D. DALY was a distinct, a vigorous personality, with strong public interests and ambitions which made his presence felt, and will make those who knew him miss him now that he is gone.

In this Congress we have lost many of our associates, the list beginning just before this Congress with the death of the noble leader of the House. One by one men who have been with us have fallen, their life work not yet complete. But we can say of them that the work that we do here is, we hope, for our country, that it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country, and that there is no time in a man's life when he would rather depart than while he is still in harness and engaged in the best work that his country has given him to do.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Speaker, as an humble representative of sunny Florida I come to place a wreath upon the grave of a noble son of New Jersey. Generous, whole-souled WILLIAM D. DALY has taken his leave of us forever and gone across the border. His honest face and genial smile we shall see no more; his voice we shall never hear again; his friendly hand we shall clasp no more in cordial greeting.

I was one of the Congressional committee appointed to attend the obsequies of Vice-President Garrett A. Hobart at Paterson, N. J., in November, 1899. Judge DALY, who had been elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, was on the special train that took us to Paterson. I met him then for the first time. Our route took us directly through his district, and as I sat by his side while we swept along, he pointed out to me many scenes familiar to him from his boyhood and dear to him in his manhood. I remember that he pointed to a distant hillside where he told me slept his dead. I remember, too, the cordial greeting the people along the roadside gave him, and his hearty salutation to them in return. I saw that his constituents loved and trusted him, and I did not wonder, for he had already won my warmest friendship. A few days later he took his seat in Congress in what proved to be for him his first and last and only session. We adjourned in the early days of June, and when we assembled again in December WILLIAM D. DALY had been gathered to the fathers.

An eloquent eulogist of Henry Clay said:

No man the world ever saw was equally great in every quality of intellect and in every walk of action. All men are unequal, and it is truthful, as well as just, to plant the praise where it is true, rather than drown all individuality and all character in one foaming chaos of eulogy.

I sometimes think we do wrong to the living by a too indiscriminate and fulsome praise of the dead. I do not wish to say that the friend of whom I speak here was a perfect man. He had his faults, as we all have; he had his weaknesses like the balance of mankind. Perfection does not belong to mortal man and is a state of existence found only in the realm of rewarded immortality. WILLIAM D. DALY was a man of pluck, nerve, energy, and persistence. He was just and generous. He was talented, honest, and true. He started life as a molder by trade, and he died holding high position among his fellow-men.

After serving his apprenticeship and while still working at the molders' trade he read law. At 23 years of age he was admitted to practice, and soon took high rank in his profession. As a criminal lawyer he stood with the foremost of the New Jersey bar. He served his people in his State legislature in both senate and house. He was appointed by the governor of his State as judge of the district court of Hoboken, and, finally, he was nominated without opposition and elected by a handsome majority to the Fifty-sixth Congress. All this he accomplished by his own efforts and without the aid of wealth or high educational advantage. What more need be said to prove his merits or establish his deserts. Unworthy and undeserving men may sometimes attain office at the hands of their fellows, but they are not honored and trusted time after time and in place after place unless they are true and honest and faithful. WILLIAM D. DALY was all this. He was true to every trust, faithful in the performance of every duty, loyal to his people, and watchful of their every interest.

All too soon his services here were ended. At the close of the last session, when we were separating for our respective homes, he shook my hand cordially and wished me happiness and success. I responded to his kind sentiments by honest and reciprocal good wishes for him. Then we parted—he facing north and I south. I had no thought that I had taken his hand and heard his voice for the last time.

A few weeks later the announcement of his death flashed over



the wires. And so it is that, instead of greeting him upon the reconvening of Congress, as I should have been so glad to do, I am here to speak these poor words of sorrow.

To every man upon this earth  
Death cometh soon or late.

The drama of his life is over—the play is finished—the curtain is down. Farewell.

Mr. FITZGERALD of New York. Mr. Speaker, death again stays the routine of legislation. Momentarily our attention is directed to the life and characteristics and to the virtues of a recent colleague. The inexorable demands of time will speedily bear us far from the contemplation of such things. Yet, for a few brief moments let us heap high memory's freshest and most fragrant offerings in tribute to our lamented friend.

Sweet, indeed, is the memory of departed friends. Well has it been said "that sorrow for the dead is the only sorrow from which we refuse to be divorced." It is a sorrow, however, that mellows with time, and eventually ripens to a sad but sweet remembrance.

WILLIAM D. DALY died with startling unexpectedness. I last saw him in Kansas City. It was during the heat of July. He was attending the Democratic national convention as a delegate. At the head of the delegation from his native State—New Jersey—he fought earnestly and desperately for what he believed were the true principles of the Democracy. From his appearance then few apprehended that his career was so soon to end. Under the most enervating conditions of weather his zeal and activity did not in the slightest abate. Every movement evidenced the vigor for which he had long been noted.

In the very prime of life Mr. DALY was stricken down. He had not quite reached his fiftieth birthday; yet his life had been crowded with the work of more mature years.

From the beginning this Republic has been conspicuous for the really marvelous careers of many of its citizens. Countless men have unexpectedly displayed preeminent genius for governmental affairs. The lack of early advantage only served to emphasize the wonderful talents with which they had been endowed.

Mr. DALY had not the advantage of a collegiate education. He was of the great mass that is compelled to begin life's battle at the age of 14. The powerful physique which so well equipped him for the arduous tasks of later life was developed while he toiled both as apprentice and as master mechanic in the iron foundries of New Jersey.

At 19 he commenced to study law, and four years later was admitted to the bar. With rapid strides he advanced to the head of his chosen profession. Throughout his own State and in neighboring States his fame as a criminal lawyer speedily spread. In these days, when the practice of criminal law has fallen somewhat into disrepute, he was one of the few whose readiness to lend their superior talents to the proper administration of the law regenerated respect for this branch of the profession. Foremost in the ranks he towered far above his contemporaries at the criminal bar.

Mr. DALY was well equipped for membership in this House. For fifteen years he was an enviable position at the New Jersey bar. For three years he served as assistant to the United States district attorney. In 1891 he was elected to the lower branch of the legislature of his State, and so brilliant was his service that at the close of the session he was appointed judge of the Hoboken district court. The following year the people showed their appreciation of his ability and services by sending him to the State senate.

For six years Mr. DALY served in that body. During that time he gained a high reputation as a legislator, and for much of the time was the leader of his party upon the floor.

A prominent candidate for the gubernatorial nomination in 1898, he was sent instead to the House of Representatives by the largest vote ever given to a candidate in his district. For many years he was prominent in the national and State conventions of the Democratic party.

The brevity of Mr. DALY's service in this House made it difficult for his conspicuous talents to attract the attention of his colleagues. Yet during the single session that he spent here with us he displayed on many occasions the same deliberateness, coolness, and thoroughness in the heat of debate that had already distinguished him in the legislative bodies of his native State.

As a worker he was indefatigable. For him labor was not a task, but a pleasure. His ambition was to represent his people properly and conscientiously. No opportunity to serve them was neglected. In committee, on the floor, and in his study he was the attentive and careful student, not merely of the particular needs of his people, but, as well, of the great questions of the day.

From his boyhood he had been an ardent Democrat. Aggressive and positive in his convictions, he was nevertheless a conservative and level-headed man. He desired not so much his party's success as he did his country's welfare. He maintained his belief without thought of consequences. To truckle to a fickle public was ever abhorrent to him, yet he possessed that peculiar gift that

enabled him accurately to ascertain the public pulse and often to stimulate a proper, desirable, and a healthy public sentiment.

Personally Mr. DALY won, rather than compelled, the admiration and the friendship of his associates. His was a genial nature. Kind and unobtrusive, his comprehensive knowledge of men and of public affairs was ever at the service of his friends. The generosity of his nature could not be fully appreciated except by those who knew him well.

Inscrutable indeed are the ways of Providence. Dispassionate observers reviewing the life of Mr. DALY would easily have pictured a brilliant future for him in this House. Few men come here with such an accumulation of useful knowledge, with so keen an appreciation of the responsibilities and of the duties of a Representative, and with an experience ripened and cultured in so wide a field of human affairs.

Of a judicial temperament, he was, nevertheless, noted as an advocate. His judgment was sound. Conservative and cautious rather than radical and impulsive, when fully determined as to the right policy, he was fiercely aggressive. Yet the bitterness of debate never lingered with him. While he could out-partisan and be most partisan when necessary, he carried no sting to be carefully cherished in resentment.

Mr. DALY's unexpected demise in last July was an overwhelming affliction to his beloved wife and children. Missed by his acquaintances, deeply lamented by his friends, his association with us here will ever be among our sweetest recollections.

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I can not, nor do I propose to attempt to, pay a just tribute to the life and character of WILLIAM D. DALY. That task has fallen to those who had known him through life and were familiar with his career prior to his entrance into this body. It was not my good fortune to meet Mr. DALY until after his election as a member of the Fifty-sixth Congress, and, though our acquaintance was but slight—a little more than a year in duration—I had come to respect his genial, upright, honest disposition and to esteem his friendship, and I can not permit this sad occasion to pass without bearing public testimonial of my regard; and yet I desire but to place a garland on his bier.

I met WILLIAM D. DALY for the first time at a meeting of the New York and New Jersey Democratic members-elect to the Fifty-sixth Congress held in the city of New York. Our acquaintance grew into a ripe friendship after our arrival in Washington and we mingled together the troubles that fall to the lot of new members. His longer legislative experience and kindly nature made him at once my preceptor and my friend, and as time passed by I sought more and more his counsel and advice. At the close of the last session we parted with many assurances that we should meet during the then pending campaign, while preliminary arrangements had been made whereby he was to come to Buffalo, the city which I have the honor to represent in part, and address the voters of the Thirty-second Congressional district.

For him that day never came. But a few weeks had passed when he was called from these earthly scenes—called without warning—called in the full bloom of life, before the leaves had begun to wither and fall away; called ere he had reached the half-century mark, at a time when he had just begun to gather the fruits of a life of industry and toil. WILLIAM D. DALY died too young.

A glance at his biography tells the story of a life of progress and achievement. He began the task as a molder; studied law at night when his day's work was done, and was admitted to the bar. At an early age we find him taking his place among the leading criminal lawyers of his native State. A little later and he was chosen district attorney and then judge of the district court. His term expired and he was elected to the State legislature and chosen speaker of the house during his first year. He was afterwards elected to the State senate, and then, by the largest majority ever given a candidate in the Seventh New Jersey district, sent to represent a great constituency in this Hall. Such honors are placed only on the shoulders of those deserving of them and they speak more forcibly than words that I or anyone else could utter of the worthiness and ability of our departed colleague. Few men can breast the storms of public life, stirred by the ambition of opponents and kept raging by the winds of envy, for twenty-five years without meeting disaster. The people of his district loved and placed confidence in him. They knew his valor, his fidelity, integrity, and honesty, and in honoring him they honored themselves. Their confidence was not misplaced for he served his State and constituency faithfully and well. Nothing could swerve him from what he thought was the path of duty.

The bravest lives are those to duty wed,  
Whose deeds, both great and small,  
Are close-knit strands of an unbroken thread  
Where love ennobles all.  
The world may sound no trumpets, ring no bells,  
The book of life the shining record tells.



And so with WILLIAM DALY. He is gone, but he left behind him for our instruction the lesson of his beautiful life of sympathy and service. Believing that he made the world better for having lived, I say, without gloom or conventional melancholy feeling, "Farewell, friend DALY! I miss your happy, radiant face, your kindly smile, your friendly solicitude; but I trust that when I am called away it may be said of me, by Him who judges all, as I have no doubt it has been said of you, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant;'" and I repeat again, a last and long and sad farewell.

[Mr. MOON addressed the House. See Appendix.]

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. The most beautiful tribute to a dead friend ever written in English verse is found in the closing stanza of that wonderfully pure and heartfelt poem of Bret Harte, entitled "Dickens in camp."

And on that tomb where English oak and holly  
And laurel wreaths entwine,  
Deem it not all a too presumptuous folly  
This spray of Western pine.

To-day, at the grave of my friend DALY, I beg leave to deposit a sprig of Pennsylvania pine as the only fitting tribute I can pay to his memory.

Unconsciously my recollection leads me back to that beautiful summer morning as I sat on the beach at Atlantic City—the greatest of all the cities by the sea—as I looked far out across the blue waters of the broad Atlantic until they met the cloud line on the horizon, and listened to the restless, never-ceasing music of its tossing waves. The New York paper lay by my side waiting to be read. I roused from my peaceful reverie and scanned its columns to learn the doings and sayings of that great hurrying, hustling world that seemed so far away. What a shock I received when, on the very first column, the news of the sudden death of my friend, the Congressman from New Jersey, stood forth in glaring black type.

This was so sudden and unexpected that I fairly gasped for breath, for I remembered that but a few short weeks before, at Kansas City, that far-off town of the West beyond the Mississippi, we had spent pleasant hours in friendly converse, he giving me his plans for the summer and I giving him mine. Alas! that his bright anticipations should never be realized, for he confided them to me, the great goal of his life, his proud ambition to be the next governor of his native State, New Jersey. He frankly told me that he was not enamored with Congressional life and much preferred the public service of his own State.

He had studied the many questions of its government, was familiar with the needs of the various communities there and in sympathetic touch with its people, especially the plain people, whose friend he had always been, and who had been, during a long public career, strongly attached to him. He told me of his service in the house of representatives of that State, of his over five years of service in its senate. He was especially proud of this service, and he had a right to be, for in both branches of the legislature there he had been a leader, and I think it may truthfully be said during much of the time was the leader among his Democratic colleagues.

In 1898 his friends urged his selection as the Democratic nominee for governor, and he failed of nomination by but a few votes, having received 364 votes to 441 received by the successful candidate. Notwithstanding his defeat, he was nominated that year as the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Seventh district, and was elected by the unprecedented majority of almost 10,000 votes. Of his popularity, not only in his own home, which is attested by this wonderful majority, but throughout the State, there can be no doubt, and many of his friends firmly believe to this day that had he been chosen as the standard bearer of his party in the gubernatorial contest of that year he would have been elected, and the State of New Jersey, until quite recent years firmly anchored in the column of Democratic States of this Union, might not again have slipped from its old moorings in the Presidential contest of 1900.

My acquaintance with Congressman DALY began with the very first hours of the first session of this Congress, and were confined almost entirely to our intercourse in Washington. On but two occasions did I meet him away from this place; once when, at my request and at the invitation of the Democracy of Lehigh County, one of the two large counties that make up my district, he attended the great annual meeting of the Democratic clans, and there spoke words of cheer and hope, urging them to stand true and steadfast to their faith and the faith of their fathers, and true to the principles laid down by the founders of this great Republic.

I take occasion here to thank him for the many kind words of friendly tribute he paid to their Representative in Congress. Little did I expect at that time to be called upon to pay a tribute to his memory. DALY died in the prime of life, and had not reached the half-century mark. He started life in the humble occupation

of an iron molder, and by industry and sheer force of character, coupled with great natural ability, he fought his way steadily, step by step, through a quarter of a century's hard work in his profession to a most prominent position among the leading lawyers of his State.

In the criminal jurisdiction he was easily the peer of the many great legal lights who have gained distinction there, and it was the recognition of his legal ability and his strength as an advocate that led to President Cleveland's appointing him as assistant United States district attorney, and afterwards of Governor Abbott's appointing him as judge of the district court of Hoboken, his native city. During his long legal career he showed his sympathy for the working people of his State and his community, and in some of the greatest legal battles the records will show him as a strong advocate and a warm defender of their rights and liberty.

Perhaps this may have been the basis of his popularity throughout the State; for if they loved and admired him as much as he sympathized with them, he could not help, when he became a candidate for public office, but receive a substantial tribute of their regard. Congressman DALY was an indefatigable worker, and, while he may have believed in the propriety of observing the great Masonic rule of eight hours work each day, he certainly never observed it in practice, and in this respect may well be said to have burned the candle of life at both ends. Added to industry and native ability as well as physical and mental vigor, he possessed a towering ambition, which led him not only to the triumphs which he reaped in his profession, but in equally great triumphs which he achieved in the service of the public. That this service was not only valuable to his State, but acceptable to the people he served, is attested by the constant promotion they accorded him ever since his entry into public life in 1885.

And the sorrow with which the community, irrespective of party affiliations, followed him to his grave, bears the most fitting testimony to his integrity as a citizen and the usefulness of his life and service, both public and private. By his death I feel that I have lost a most agreeable companion and a well-beloved friend; one whom in the great hereafter I hope to meet again, and I know when that time comes he will give me the same cordial handshake that he gave when last we parted so many miles away in that city beyond the Father of Waters, on the confines of the great States of Missouri and of Kansas.

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts.

None knew thee but to love thee,  
Nor named thee but to praise.

Mr. Speaker, I think these words can be spoken truly of the man whose memory is being honored in this House this afternoon. I first met WILLIAM D. DALY as a member of this body, and it so chanced that he and I chose seats almost adjoining each other, and from the very first day of the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress Mr. DALY and myself became warm personal friends. As the session advanced I grew to love him as a brother, because of his kindly qualities of heart and his firm, steadfast adherence to the principles of right and justice and humanity, which seemed to animate his whole being.

I was charmed with the personal magnetism of the man. I was interested in the manner in which he approached the different questions of the day. I delighted in listening to him when addressing the members of this body upon the great vital questions of the day. I always found him ready and willing to fight for the under dog, and to possess in truth and in deed the attributes of one of God's noblemen. The rapid manner in which he formed acquaintanceship here among the members of the House amazed me. Within two weeks after becoming a member of this body, in conversation one day, he told me that he could call by name about three-fourths of the membership of this House.

This shows the man's marvelous industry, his willingness and his desire to get acquainted as quickly as possible with the members of this House, so that he could accomplish for his district, for his State, and for his country the best possible results in legislation. He appealed in debate to the members of the House in a fair and impartial manner. His voice was always heard in behalf of truth, of justice, and of humanity; and in these days, when wealth and money and power seem to have such influence over the actions of many of our public servants, WILLIAM D. DALY's virtues in this respect shine all the more by comparison.

I remember an instance in his career that appealed to me very strongly as showing the man's kindness of heart and his innate sympathetic nature. He was invited as one of a party of members of Congress to a banquet in Boston. He had already started on his journey from the hotel across the street to the depot when he received a telegram stating that it was the desire of some friends of his in New Jersey that he should appear before the Supreme Court in Washington in the morning to argue for the reprieve of the sentence of a man who had been condemned to death.



I shall never forget Mr. DALY's feelings as he expressed himself upon that evening. He said: "FITZGERALD, I can not go to Boston. I know I have given you and the committee which you represent a faithful promise, but this man's life hangs in the balance. Although there is not a dollar in it for me, I must stay here and fight for this man's life in the Supreme Court to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock." Of course there was nothing to do for the rest of us but to proceed upon our journey without Mr. DALY. This act showed the true instinct and nature of the man, and I thought the more of him for the noble course that he pursued that evening.

I agree with my colleague from New York, who a few moments ago said when Mr. DALY's mind was once made up for the right it could never be shaken and he could not be turned aside. I remember this trait was strongly developed and shown here in Washington in the Democratic Congressional committee. When the question as to whether the committee should indorse the 16 to 1 declaration was debated at its meeting Mr. DALY stood upon the floor and stated that while he thought he was not voicing the sentiments of his constituency at that time, he felt that the further advocacy of that doctrine was wrong and would bring the party to ruin. He did not follow; he saw the right and he chose to lead. He stood with one or two others against the view of the entire committee and did not cease to fight the battle in that direction until after the convention of his party had declared to the contrary at the national convention on the 4th day of July, 1900.

So I say, Mr. Speaker, that the nation and the people of New Jersey and the people of his district have reason to be indeed sorry at the early demise of this man.

In the press of to-day is recorded the fact that a great billion-dollar deal in steel and iron is to take place; that the Emperor William is to crown Earl Roberts with new honors for killing the Boers, and that the Count and Countess Castellane are to be given annually \$200,000 on which to live. The whole press is filled with stories of the increased power of wealth and dominion. It was the delight of Mr. DALY to fight such manifestations of power and opulence.

The people of this country, and, I fear, the people of the world, have too few sincere friends in the fight that is going on to-day between the people and the concentrated wealth of the times; and the people of the entire world, I think, have reason to sincerely regret the loss of such a good and noble champion as WILLIAM D. DALY.

I attended his funeral at Hoboken. It was on a beautiful afternoon in midsummer, one of the most beautiful days I have ever seen. I was impressed with the tremendous outpouring and gathering of the people which assembled at his funeral. The streets were crowded in front of his house, and as the funeral cortege wended its way from the house to the church the streets were literally packed with humanity.

I thought that after the church had been left the numbers would thin out, but, although the funeral cortege traveled a long distance to the cemetery, crowds lined the streets a good portion of the journey, and when we reached the cemetery, just before sunset on this beautiful Saturday evening, the cemetery, too, was crowded with thousands of men, women, and children, who had followed the remains of WILLIAM D. DALY right to its final resting place. I was impressed with the affection that was shown for this man by the children that followed his remains to the cemetery. Hundreds of children trooped with men and women into the church to gaze for the last time on the face of this dead man. He who goes through this world, my friends, surrounded by the love, affection, and admiration of children; he who, when he dies, is followed by the love and affection of children to his grave, is indeed armored with that strength and power that will surmount all obstacles to the Kingdom of Heaven. May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague Mr. McDERMOTT was called home to-day, and there are several others who have expressed their desire to make remarks, if present. I therefore ask unanimous consent that all members who have not submitted remarks to-day and who desire to do so may have leave to print in the RECORD their remarks upon the life and character of the late WILLIAM D. DALY.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that all members who desire to do so may have leave to print remarks in eulogy of the deceased in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### MIDDLE JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 4345) to create a new Federal judicial district in Pennsylvania, to be called the middle district. The bill has once been read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill which the Clerk will report by its title.

Mr. WARNER. As the bill has been read once to-day, in order to save time I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, as I understood the order of business, it was that as soon as the eulogies were concluded the House was to adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution provides that at the close of the eulogies to-day the House shall adjourn; but the gentleman from Utah doubtless knows that at 4 o'clock a special order begins for eulogies upon the late Mr. WISE, of Virginia, so that there is half an hour between this and that time. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WARNER] asks unanimous consent that the further reading of the bill may be dispensed with, and for its present consideration. Is there objection?

Mr. WEEKS. Has this bill been reported by the committee?

Mr. WARNER. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I was going to say that this bill was called up this morning, and there was objection to its consideration by a gentleman whom I do not now see in his seat. I do not know whether the gentleman from Illinois has conferred with him or not.

Mr. WARNER. I will state to the gentleman from Tennessee that I conferred with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] and told him that the bill would be brought up this afternoon as soon as we finished the first eulogies, and he told me that he did not think he would be here. He knows the bill is to be brought up.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Then he has no further objection to its consideration?

Mr. WARNER. Well, he is not here, and you understand what that means. He knew it would be brought up to-day. It is satisfactory to him.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I am informed that the gentleman said he had no further objection to the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. There being no objection, the question is on the engrossment and third reading.

Mr. WARNER. I have a formal amendment to offer to the bill, changing the date of the first session of the court.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out in lines 4 and 5, on page 7, the words "Scranton, in the county of Lackawanna, on the 1st day of March, A. D. 1900," and insert "Harrisburg, in the county of Dauphin, on the first Monday of May, A. D. 1901."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed. On motion of Mr. WARNER, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### PRINTING THE REPORT ON SOLDIERS' HOMES.

Mr. HEATWOLE. Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the Committee on Printing to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the concurrent resolution which I send to the desk. The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 50.

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).* That there be printed of the Report of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, in addition to the usual number, 500 copies of the report proper, 500 copies of the report of the assistant inspector-general on the State Homes, and 150 copies of the record of members, for the use of the Home.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I wish to ask whether this resolution is in the regular form—the same form as resolutions of similar character heretofore adopted?

Mr. HEATWOLE. I do not know that we have had before us a resolution similar to this, at least not before the Printing Committee this session.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. Oh, yes; we have passed one at this session, as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. STEELE] knows. What I wish to inquire is whether this is in the usual form.

Mr. STEELE. Precisely the same form as other resolutions of similar character heretofore adopted.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution; and the same was adopted.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted was laid on the table.

#### IRRIGATION.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I am further directed by the Committee on Printing to ask present consideration of the privileged resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).* That there be printed for the use of the Senate and House of Representatives 6,000 copies of Bulletin No. 86 of the Department of Agriculture, the same being a treatise on "The use of water in irrigation," 4,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives and 2,000 copies for the use of the Senate.



There being no objection, the resolution was considered and adopted.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I hope I may be pardoned a suggestion. A rule of the House requires that the Committee on Printing shall submit with these reports a statement of the cost of the printing in each case. I have not asked for the reading of the reports in connection with the resolutions, but I hope that the gentleman, if he has the reports, will have them printed in each case, so that we may see what is the cost involved in these various propositions for printing. As the rule requires that in each case the Public Printer shall submit an estimate of the cost, I hope that that requirement is being complied with.

Mr. HEATWOLE. The estimate of the cost has not been submitted in these reports; but we have here a memorandum in nearly all cases of the estimated cost.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I hope the gentleman will state the cost.

Mr. HEATWOLE. The estimated cost of the printing proposed in the resolution last adopted is \$1,506. In the previous case the estimated cost is \$150.

#### DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I am also directed by the Committee on Printing to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate concurrent resolution 86, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That of the document known as the Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States 7,000 copies be printed, of which number 2,000 shall be for the use of the Senate, 4,000 shall be for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,000 for the use of the Department of State.*

Mr. HEATWOLE. This document will be in three volumes, and the cost for printing is estimated at \$21,415.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution; and it was adopted.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted was laid on the table.

#### REPORT OF ARGUMENTS, ETC., BEFORE SUPREME COURT.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I also ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the Committee on Printing, for the consideration of House concurrent resolution No. 72.

The resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed and bound, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, 12,000 copies of the records, briefs, and arguments of counsel in the following cases of the October term, 1900, in the Supreme Court of the United States, including the appendixes thereto, 7,500 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, 3,500 copies for the use of the Senate, 500 copies for distribution by the Department of Justice, and 500 copies for distribution by the clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States:*

*Elias S. A. De Lima and others vs. George R. Bidwell, being case No. 456; Samuel B. Downes and others vs. George R. Bidwell, being case No. 507; Henry W. Dooley and others vs. The United States, being cases Nos. 501 and 502; Carlos Armstrong vs. The United States, being case No. 509; George W. Crossman and others vs. The United States, being case No. 515; Christian Husus vs. The New York and Porto Rico Steamship Company, being case No. 514; John H. Goetze vs. The United States, being case No. 340, and Fourteen Diamond Rings, Emil J. Pepke, claimant, vs. The United States, being case No. 419.*

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts. I would like to ask whether it is probable that the documents published in pursuance of these resolutions will be printed before the assembling of the next session of Congress?

Mr. HEATWOLE. Yes; I think so.

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts. I believe that these documents are placed to the credit of members of the present Congress, provided they are printed before the opening of the next session.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I understand that all documents printed by the present Congress are placed to the credit of the members of this Congress, provided they are printed and ready for distribution before the first Monday of next December; and I presume that all these will be printed before that time.

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts. I have the same information given by the chairman of the Committee on Printing, and I thought it might be a good time to emphasize it as much as we can; and inasmuch as the document in question is to be distributed by members of the present Congress, its printing should be hurried up as much as possible.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was considered, and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### ATLAS OF THE CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA BATTLEFIELDS.

Mr. HEATWOLE. Mr. Speaker, I am further directed to ask unanimous consent for the adoption of the resolution I send to the desk, reported with amendments.

The resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed 5,000 extra copies of the Atlas of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga Battlefields, with such additional positions as have been identified, 3,000 copies of which shall be for the use of the House of Representatives, 1,000 for the use of the Senate, and 1,000 for the use of the Secretary of War and the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Commission.*

The committee recommended the adoption of the following amendments:

In line 2 strike out the word "five" and insert the word "four."  
In line 5 strike out the word "three" and insert the word "two."

There being no objection, the resolution was considered.

The amendments were agreed to, and the resolution as amended was adopted.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I would like to ask the gentleman the cost of this document?

Mr. HEATWOLE. Nine thousand three hundred and fifty dollars.

Mr. GAINES. Have any been printed heretofore?

Mr. HEATWOLE. This simply completes the printing with the new lines which have been marked on these battlefields. The last one was printed some years ago. This simply completes the work since the ascertainment of the new lines on the battlefields.

Mr. GAINES. But, as I understand it, this only gives additional printing, while we have no information as to what has become of the first.

Mr. HEATWOLE. This completes the whole thing.

Mr. GAINES. Is it to be complete in this printing?

Mr. HEATWOLE. Yes; the whole thing will be completed here. This will show the additional lines which have been mapped out, and gives a complete atlas of the battlefields. The work of the commission will be completed during the next Congress, and they desire to have the whole of this printed.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted was laid on the table.

#### PUBLICATION OF MAPS OF AMERICA.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I also ask for immediate consideration of concurrent resolution No. 63, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed of the list of maps relating to America now in the Library of Congress as submitted by the Librarian of Congress, 3,500 copies, of which number 1,000 shall be for the use of the Senate, 1,500 for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,000 for the use of the Library of Congress; said documents to be bound in cloth.*

The committee recommended the adoption of the following amendments:

In line 5 strike out the word "three" and insert in lieu thereof the word "two."

In line 6 strike out the words "one thousand" and insert in lieu thereof "five hundred."

In line 7 strike out the words "five hundred."

There being no objection, the resolution was considered.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. What will be the cost of this?

Mr. HEATWOLE. The estimate from the Government Printing Office is \$2,346.

The resolution was considered, the amendments recommended by the committee were agreed to, and the resolution as amended was passed.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### REPORT ON ALASKA.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of House concurrent resolution No. 75.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed 14,000 copies of the report on Alaska, now in preparation by the Geological Survey, on the Copper River country and the Seward Peninsula, including the Nome region, with the accompanying maps and other illustrations; 4,000 copies for distribution by the House, 2,000 copies for distribution by the Senate, and 8,000 copies for distribution by the Geological Survey.*

There being no objection, the resolution was considered, and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

#### EULOGIES ON THE LATE SENATOR DAVIS.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I also offer the following privileged resolution to the Committee on Printing.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 6,000 additional copies of the eulogies upon the late Cushman Kellogg Davis, Senator from the State of Minnesota, of which 2,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate and 4,000 copies shall be for the use of the House of Representatives.*

The resolution was considered, and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.



## REPORT OF COMMISSION TO PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I also ask the adoption of the following resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 10,000 copies of the Report of the Commission to the Philippine Islands, transmitted to the Senate by the President on January 23, 1901, of which 2,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 4,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 4,000 copies for the use of the War Department.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GAINES. Has this not been already printed?

Mr. HEATWOLE. No; this is the report lately transmitted.

Mr. GAINES. Is this the report with reference to which the telegram costing about \$5,000 was sent?

Mr. HEATWOLE. There is nothing in the resolution about that.

Mr. GAINES. Because a telegram as costly as that certainly ought to be printed as a curiosity, if for no other reason.

The resolution was considered, and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

## AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of concurrent resolution No. 80.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution No. 80.

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That 5,000 copies of the report of the investigations of the agricultural resources and capabilities of the Hawaiian Islands, transmitted by a message of the President to Congress, dated January 24, 1901, be printed, 2,000 copies for the use of the House, and 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate, and 2,000 copies for the use of the Department of Agriculture.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I would like the gentleman to state the cost of this.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I will say to the gentleman from Tennessee that this report has not been printed, and I have been unable to get at the exact cost of it.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. About how large a volume is it?

Mr. HEATWOLE. That is more than I can say. It is not a very expensive work.

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING THE ARMY.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate concurrent resolution No. 32.

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 7,000 copies of the annual report of the Major-General Commanding the Army for 1899, with the accompanying documents, of which 2,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 4,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,000 copies for the use of the War Department and Headquarters of the Army.*

The amendments recommended by the Committee on Printing were read, as follows:

In line 2 (engrossed copy of resolution) strike out the word "seven" and insert in lieu thereof "four."

In line 5 strike out the word "two" and insert in lieu thereof "one."

In line 6 strike out the word "four" and insert in lieu thereof "two."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The amendments recommended by the committee was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution as amended was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

## REPORT ON FIELD OPERATIONS OF THE DIVISION OF SOILS.

Mr. HEATWOLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

House joint resolution 285, providing for the printing annually of the Report on Field Operations of the Division of Soils, Department of Agriculture.

*Resolved, etc., That there be printed — thousand copies of the Report on Field Operations of the Division of Soils, Department of Agriculture, for 1900, of which — thousand copies shall be for the use of the Senate, — thousand copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 8,000 copies for the use of the Department of Agriculture; and that annually hereafter*

a similar report shall be prepared and printed, the edition to be the same as for the report herein provided.

The amendments recommended by the Committee on Printing were read, as follows:

In line 3, after the word "printed," insert the word "seventeen;" in line 5, after the word "which," insert the word "three;" in line 6, after the word "Senate," insert the word "six."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. I do not object; but I wish the gentleman would state the cost.

Mr. HEATWOLE. The cost of the extra number will be \$15,387. It is very much in demand, and there is an urgent request made for its publication by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. GAINES. Does this contain the experiments on tobacco in Connecticut?

Mr. HENRY of Connecticut. It does.

Mr. GAINES. I hope it does, because I know that is valuable.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair hears no objection. The question is on the amendments.

Mr. KING. Before that is put, I just want to ask the chairman of the committee if it is not rather a bad precedent, providing in advance for the printing of documents. That is, to provide for years in the future. I have no objection at all to the printing of this document for the current year; but why not leave to succeeding Congresses the enactment of provisions necessary for the publication of the reports that may come in?

Mr. HEATWOLE. If there are as many advances in agriculture in the future as there have been in the past, it will be necessary to give authority for additional copies of this publication in the next Congress for the use of the people.

Mr. HENRY of Connecticut. I will say, Mr. Speaker, that this work of the Division of Soils embraces the whole country, and I believe that they have been doing work in the gentleman's own State. There is no more important work being accomplished by the Department of Agriculture at the present time.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. If the gentleman will allow me, I will state that all the printing nearly is done by permanent provision, such as we have in this resolution. The printing bill which passed in 1895 superseded all former provisions for printing, and provided that these publications that are of sufficient importance to become annual should be printed annually under a permanent law without annually necessitating passing these concurrent resolutions at each session of Congress. Our object was to make them permanent.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendments proposed by the committee.

The amendments were agreed to.

The joint resolution, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

## AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I am also directed to report back with amendments the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 292) providing for reprint of Bulletin numbered 80, entitled "The Agricultural Experiment Stations of the United States."

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That there be printed from the stereotype plates in the Government Printing Office — thousand copies of Bulletin No. 80, office of Experiment Stations, entitled "The Agricultural Experiment Stations in the United States," of which — thousand copies shall be for the use of the Senate, — thousand copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 2,000 copies for the use of the Department of Agriculture; the quality of paper and style of binding to be the same as in the original edition of the publication.*

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I will state that the estimated cost of this work is \$4,642.

The following amendments, reported by the Committee on Printing, were read and agreed to:

In line 4, after the word "Office," insert the word "five."

In line 7, after the word "which," insert the word "one."

In line 8, before the word "thousand," insert the word "two;" so that the resolution will read as follows:

*Resolved, etc., That there be printed from the stereotype plates in the Government Printing Office 5,000 copies of Bulletin No. 80, Office of Experiment Stations, entitled "The Agricultural Experiment Stations in the United States," of which 1,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 2,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 2,000 copies for the use of the Department of Agriculture; the quality of paper and style of binding to be the same as in the original edition of the publication.*

The joint resolution as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.



## CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.

Mr. HEATWOLE. I am further directed to call up, by unanimous consent, House concurrent resolution No. 79, which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).* That there be printed 15,000 additional copies of the report of the dedication of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, of which 8,000 shall be for the House of Representatives, 4,500 for the Senate, 600 for the office of the Secretary of War, 500 for the Chickamauga Park Commission, and 25 copies for each of the speakers at the dedication.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution; and it was adopted.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

## BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF CONGRESS.

Mr. HEATWOLE also reported, by unanimous consent, the following House concurrent resolution (No. 74):

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).* That there be printed and bound in cloth 3,000 copies of a Congressional register, embracing the biographies of all members of Congress to the Fifty-seventh Congress, inclusive, to be compiled by O. M. Enyart, of the House library, 2,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives and 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. What will be the cost in this case?

Mr. HEATWOLE. The approximate cost of printing is estimated at \$3,554.

The resolution was considered, and adopted.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

## GROWTH OF UNITED STATES CENSUS.

Mr. HEATWOLE also reported back Senate concurrent resolution No. 75, which was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).* That there be printed and bound in cloth for the use of the Census Bureau 500 copies of Senate Document No. 194, first session Fifty-sixth Congress, entitled "The History and Growth of the United States Census."

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee. In this case what will be the cost?

Mr. HEATWOLE. I think less than \$1,000.

The resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mr. HEATWOLE, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

## EULOGIES ON HON. RICHARD A. WISE, DECEASED.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The hour of 4 o'clock having arrived, the House will proceed to the special order for this hour.

Mr. LAMB. I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved,* That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. RICHARD A. WISE, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Virginia.

*Resolved,* That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his eminent abilities as a distinguished public servant, the House, at the conclusion of this day's proceedings, shall stand adjourned.

*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

*Resolved,* That the Clerk be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Mr. LAMB. Mr. Speaker, the great mortality in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses reminds us that life is but a span; that man "cometh forth like a flower and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow and continueth not." "In the morning they are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down and withereth."

During these Congresses the Commonwealth of Virginia has lost two of her ten Representatives. A few months ago we bore to his last resting place our promising young colleague from the Fourth district. To-day we pay tribute to the memory of another who has passed, unexpectedly to most of us, though not to himself, from the scenes of earth to "the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns."

On Tuesday, the 18th day of December last, I paired with my colleague in this House, and he spoke to me perhaps the last words he ever uttered here. After telling me that he was suffering, I remarked, "You are a doctor and ought to know what will give relief." He replied, "The doctors can not cure a man with my disease." That night he left for his home. Within four days he was sleeping in the cemetery at Hollywood, near the city of Richmond, where rest the bodies of thousands who have helped to make the name and fame of the Old Dominion.

RICHARD ALSOP WISE was the eldest son by his second marriage of Gen. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, who was for ten years a member of this House, then minister to Brazil, and afterwards

governor of Virginia, and later on a distinguished general in the war between the States. He inherited a vigorous intellect and strong personality. At the breaking out of the war he left college to join the Confederate army.

He was a private in Stuart's cavalry, and at the close of the war was assistant inspector-general of Wise's brigade. After the war he graduated in medicine from the Medical College of Virginia. In 1869 he was professor of chemistry in the College of William and Mary; was appointed assistant physician to the Eastern Lunatic Asylum of Virginia in 1878, and in 1883 was elected superintendent of this asylum and served until the spring of 1884. He served in the Virginia legislature three years, and was elected clerk of the county courts of the city of Williamsburg and the county of James City in 1887, holding this office for six years, administering the same with marked ability and success. He was for a number of years chairman of the Republican county committee of James City County, and was a member of the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses. The large number of bills he introduced for his district and the appropriations he secured will attest his industry and his close attention to his duties. Could he have survived this session he would have realized the success of several schemes he hoped to see perfected.

That he was a man of unusual energy and force of character is fully shown by the recital above of the various positions he filled with great credit to himself, and satisfaction, as I have been able to observe, to those interested.

During a portion of the time that he served as assistant superintendent of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum I was one of the directors of that institution, and can testify to his ability and efficiency as well as his great kindness and unceasing attention to the wants of the unfortunate people committed to his charge. Too often in private life, owing to conflict of interest or preconceived opinions or unfortunate and unfounded prejudices, we do injustice to our fellows and are slow to give them full measure of praise. Much more is this the case when party differences separate us and we look on one side only.

That I may bring out the salient points in the life and character of our deceased colleague and show in what estimate he was held by those who knew him best, and at the same time differed with him in politics, I will read from the pen of a citizen of Williamsburg a tribute that was paid him a few days after his untimely taking off:

## IN MEMORIAM—RICHARD A. WISE.

The feeling of the deepest sorrow fills this entire community on account of the death of Dr. RICHARD A. WISE, which occurred about 10 o'clock yesterday morning, for they feel the loss of a good and skillful physician, who was ready at all times to respond to the calls of suffering humanity; and those who feel most heavily the loss of a kind friend and benefactor are the poorer class of people. This day have been heard on the streets and out in the country many heartfelt expressions of sorrow from the lips of white and colored: "What is to become of us now that Dr. Wise is gone?" Many families can be mentioned—white families, not to speak of the colored people—upon whom Dr. WISE has been practicing for years without hope or expectation of remuneration. The devotion of the needy class to Dr. WISE was phenomenal. "Day and night," it is known to the writer of this poor tribute Dr. WISE would travel many miles to visit the sick, nurse them tenderly and carefully, when he well knew there was not the slightest prospect of any medical fees.

The author of this notice differed in politics from Mr. WISE—one a lifelong Democrat, the other a Republican—yet we know that there are white Democrats in this part of the peninsula who never failed to vote for Dr. WISE whenever he was a candidate for office. But these men would never vote for any other Republican. Their gratitude to the good physician and their generous friend always overcame their party loyalty.

Dr. WISE has proven a working and useful member of Congress, and it can not be denied that he has secured at Washington large appropriations for this Congressional district.

Though regarded generally as a bitter partisan by the Democrats, it is well known that he has secured during his career in Congress many appointments for Democrats. One of his last public acts was to appoint as principal and alternate to the Naval Academy, at Annapolis, the sons of unwavering Democrats.

Dr. WISE had his peculiarities (and who has them not?), but he possessed a kind heart and generous disposition to those who knew him intimately and understood him well.

A lifelong Democrat, who has never voted any other than a Democratic ticket (save once, and that for Horace Greeley), who has known Dr. WISE for more than forty years—always differing with him politically—feels deeply distressed at his untimely death, and will place flowers upon his grave, with

"Peace to his ashes."

DEMOCRAT.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., December 22, 1900.

I have no idea who is the author of this tribute to my colleague, Mr. Speaker, but I know the people of the good old town of Williamsburg, Va. I knew them when a boy, before the war swept over them with the besom of destruction. I saw her young men die in defense of the constitutional rights their own sires had won on the historic plains of Yorktown. I knew a few of that heroic band who returned to their poverty-stricken homes to begin life anew, having lost all save honor and ambition. Some of these walked as far as Richmond, carrying their worldly goods. One, I remember, who was at one time a private in my company, migrated to Texas and became governor of that State, and afterwards a member of the United States Senate.

Most of these heroes, however, remained in and near the ancient



town. Without doubt one of these penned the tribute to Dr. WISE that I have just read. It bears the marks of sincerity and evidently shows that the author has learned one lesson—a hard lesson for weak mortality—to conquer his prejudices. If we have not learned this lesson in the school of life or the school of politics, we may, perchance, catch a glimpse of its importance as we “Walk through the valley of the shadow of death.”

It was in this town, once the capital of Virginia, and the scene of her Revolutionary struggle, as it had been an hundred years before of Bacon's rebellion, that Dr. WISE settled a year or two after the war.

I remember passing through Williamsburg, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, last fall. Dr. WISE boarded the train. A drizzling rain was falling, and just before reaching a station in the old county of New Kent he informed me that he would get off there. As that county is in my district, I inquired what was carrying him up there such an inclement day. He then told me that he had an urgent letter from an old lady, who had written him to come to see her, as she had been a patient of his years before. I knew that he would have to ride 10 miles in an open buggy after leaving the train, and that he would not charge a fee for the visit. On the ride we passed through a country well known to us both. He remarked on the improved condition of the country in some places, and expressed gratification that the negroes were building better houses and appeared more thrifty. Indeed, he felt confident that they were progressing, whatever might be said to the contrary. I reminded him that these negroes were chiefly the old servants who had remained at home, that the younger men and women were drifting off into other States, that servants and cooks could scarcely be hired at all, and that in a score or two of years an entirely new population would settle the historic peninsula; that the country between Newport News and Richmond must become a fruit-growing and truck-raising section, finding larger markets than now in the great West, as well as supplying the growing towns of Virginia. “Yes,” he said, “but you and I will be dead before then.”

In the death of our colleague another of that incomparable body of men—the glorious infantry of the Army of Northern Virginia—has answered the long roll call and gone to join the great majority. We are falling more rapidly than we fell in battle. Soon the places that know us now will know us no more forever. The Confederate soldier, like the heroes of Marathon and Thermopylae, will live only in song and story. Those by whose splendid deeds in war they may well measure their chivalry and manhood are falling at the rate of 1,000 a month, and before another decade has been numbered with the silent past the ex-soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic and those who followed the Stars and Bars will meet beyond the river.

And there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. Speaker, in the few remarks which I shall address to the House on this occasion it will be my purpose to present my sincere and impartial impressions of the character of RICHARD A. WISE; impressions obtained during an acquaintance limited in time, but rendered intimate by relations similar to those which arise between a lawyer and his client. Every lawyer on this floor will recall the fact that it is quite common for a life-long friendship to exist between the professional man and the client for whom he has given his earnest and sympathetic services in some close litigation or hard-fought legal battle—a friendship that merges into comradeship or something akin to fraternal affection.

My first acquaintance with the deceased began in the year 1899, when he was contestant for the seat which he occupied when he died. From my relation to that contest I necessarily learned much of his political record and personal character, and out of that knowledge grew a warm friendship and sincere admiration.

He was in no way a showy man. Neither in personal appearance nor in polished manner and speech did he create favorable first impressions which were not sustained by more intimate acquaintance. Seriousness, bluntness of speech, and pertinacity were the traits of his character most apparent to strangers.

He had a contempt for flattery, which made him slow in his approaches to intimacy. I never met a man whose speech or manner was more free from hypocritical profession or who took less pains to conceal his own contempt for hypocrisy in others.

Yet when the outer barriers of acquaintance were passed he presented to his friends an inner self strangely in contrast with the first impressions which he seemed anxious to make upon strangers.

Beneath a rugged exterior he had a heart of gold, filled with the unselfish desire to serve the people that he loved, and an over-anxious wish to show appreciation of kindness shown to him.

Under an apparent sluggishness of thought and action, he had a keen, active mind, which observed with unusual political

sagacity, which planned with careful forethought, and which executed vigorously and with regard to every detail.

It is no reflection upon others to say that the contests made in this House by the deceased showed all these qualities in a pre-eminent degree and were won by an amount of preparation and labor which would have discouraged many men of less pertinacity and continuity of purpose. None knew this quality of the deceased better than his political opponents, who with one voice admit that he never lost a political advantage by failure to fight for it.

He had emphatically the courage of his convictions to a pre-eminent degree, and although the disease which finally killed him was brought about by the labor and anxiety of his political struggles, he expressed no regret at the sacrifice, but epitomized his nature in his last utterances. He was a physician and knew the symptoms of his malady perfectly. When told that he needed rest, he replied that he had work to do and would rather die fighting than live resting. He knew his death was approaching, and speaking of it to me an hour before he left the House of Representatives for the last time he said: “I am going to die, but I have no fear of death.” To another friend he said, with a look of pride and defiance: “They have killed me, but they could not whip me. I die on top.” And with the pride and conscious dignity of a Roman senator he turned away from the presence of the House, then in session, and walked out of political life to go to his loved and quiet home to die.

I must speak of the politics of the deceased, for the interest of the public in his life springs from the lessons taught by his political career. I must speak of his personal antecedents, for in them will be found the peculiarities and the strength of his nature.

He was the son of a remarkable man, who for many years upon the floor of this House was a peerless and eloquent type and exponent of Southern views, afterwards governor of Virginia when John Brown was tried and executed, and afterwards still a distinguished leader on the Southern side. Upon his mother's side he was the grandson of an eminent lawyer, a prominent statesman, and a typical Puritan of the North.

In him, therefore, were combined two distinct strains, which need not be described, but in one of which impetuous zeal and fiery eloquence were prominent, and in the other patient work, strong conviction, common sense, and boundless tenacity. In both were ambition, controlled by honesty of purpose.

No wonder then if our deceased friend, in the course of his long career, gave evidence of his possession of these remarkable qualities.

In the bud of his youth he confronted a civil conflict in which manhood could not well be negative. His teachings in his childhood that his first allegiance was due to his State, and that she, in her course, was resisting aggression; and a deep filial love, which is a family characteristic, made him volunteer as a Confederate soldier in April of 1861 and serve with honor and with courage until the downfall of the Confederacy. In the sense that he never admitted that he was a traitor, and made no apologies for his Confederate career, and venerated his commanders, and loved his old Confederate comrades, he was a Confederate soldier until he died. But notwithstanding this, from the time the Confederate war was ended and the Confederate cause dead beyond resurrection, he accepted the inevitable, and his orphaned allegiance to that cause was transferred cheerfully, in good faith, and thenceforth unflinchingly to the reunited United States of America.

RICHARD A. WISE possessed the quality of common sense, derived from father and mother alike, which showed him the absurdity of his citizenship in and protection by a government to which he professed an allegiance, which he could not possibly renounce, yet against which he cherished a secret grudge and animosity for old issues which had been fairly and bravely fought to a final decision. To him it seemed that the hope of the South, her future happiness, her future greatness, depended upon the division of her people into political parties, upon living issues of the present and the future, ignoring the dead sectional and race questions, which had been settled by the civil war. To him it seemed that, notwithstanding the antagonism of the Republican party to the South in the time of war, it was a more rational and a more progressive and safer party, in the present, than the Democracy. He was strong enough to overcome his old prejudices against Republicanism, and strong enough to discern and ridicule the cunning and constant appeals of reorganized Democracy to his Confederate feeling, upon some notion, vaguely suggested, that it, any more than Republicanism, represents any obsolete Confederate idea. He scorned hypocrisy in politics, and embraced Republicanism through intelligence, and not through sentiment.

Through my acquaintance with RICHARD A. WISE I have, as a Northern Republican, come to appreciate the strength of character and independence requisite to make a Southern Confederate gentleman, still residing among his people, an open, militant advocate of Republican policies. The position of such a man is different and infinitely more difficult than that of the white loyalist



who left the South during the war and returned at its close; or the Northern white who moved to the South after the cessation of hostilities; or the black who, owing all to the Republican party, is naturally Republican. Such a man, when he takes ground with the Republican party, knows that he does it at the sacrifice of many former friends; knows that the local allies with whose aid he must thenceforth wage his political strife are disposed to distrust him for his antecedents or be jealous of his future prominence; and he knows, moreover, or must learn, that even in the North, among his party associates, the sincerity of his position will be gravely scanned and the value of his political influence doubted, for the North listens much to the aspersions upon such men by their political opponents.

Notwithstanding all this, there have been many instances of brave, defiant, forceful men who have dared to range themselves in favor of the Republicanism of to-day upon the very soil on which they fought it in the time of civil strife. No instance of this has been more conspicuous than that of RICHARD A. WISE, who for the past twenty years has stood as chairman and leader of the Republican party in his home in Virginia, and who, starting almost alone among the whites of his community, has built up around himself a Republican party composed of many of the best citizens of the ancient capital of Virginia, and has drawn to his personal support, even on the Republican ticket, many citizens who refused to admit that they were Republicans.

It was my privilege to visit this man at his home, to meet and become acquainted with his friends, and see and know how he bore himself among his fellow-citizens. It was a curious study to a Northern man, coming from a section where race and social distinctions and political prejudices are so different from what they are in the South. I saw him moving about among his people, white and black, a man, a neighbor, a citizen, a physician, and a politician, each of these relations operating in a different way to influence his political power.

His high social standing, his irreproachable domestic and private life made him all the more obnoxious to those who through deep prejudice regarded his politics as treason. His conduct as an exemplary citizen commanded respect for his opinions and strengthened his power to work reformation. His unquestioned courage as a man made his most bitter enemies careful how they attacked him personally. His skill as a physician and his readiness to bestow the charity of his healing on friend and foe alike took the bitterness out of animosity. He was a man of the people, to whom the poor and humble flocked, and in whom they trusted—white and black. Yet he was unconsciously an aristocrat in his relation to the great bulk of his political constituents, and they, unconsciously and lovingly, acknowledged his aristocracy in their bearing toward him.

As a politician he had no peer in the opposition, in learning, in the forceful presentation of the issues, or in the industry and zeal with which he pressed his views. Handling the means and influences at his command with great adroitness, he gathered about him and held together around him, in the face of opposition even in his own party, a strong, respectable, and aggressive Republican purchase it for \$1,000 per acre. The report in connection with his Congressional district, and reclaimed it in two contests after it had been long under Democratic control. He held it as the last stronghold of Republicanism in Virginia in the face of an outrageous election law and a divided support in his party.

On the floor of this House he made no effort to be conspicuous or gain notoriety. He modestly accepted his position as a new member, but was ever at his post in support of his party with the fidelity of a veteran.

In his fight for his seat in this House, with which I was familiar, he was aggressive to the point of fierceness. In his feelings against political adversaries who, as he believed, had wronged him, he was scathing, denunciatory, and bitter; but in the discharge of his duties as a public representative, in the bestowal of the little patronage that was accorded to him, he did his full duty to friend and foe alike, and was ever generous in the work done and the consideration shown to his political adversaries and in his effort to benefit all his people. The work he accomplished while he was in office will remain a monument to his untiring zeal.

When he died, the men whom he had fought so long and so courageously were either silently respectful or accorded to him the courage, constancy, honesty, sincerity, and zeal which all knew he possessed.

I have forbore from reference to his domestic life, save as it bore upon his political career. The little glimpse I had of his sweet domestic circle, in his unpretentious home at Williamsburg, of his keen love for and intimate knowledge of agriculture, of his joy in his flowers and his crops, the friendships by which he was surrounded, the almost worshipful faith of his black constituents, the peaceful fireside under the shadow of the old colonial church, all are too sacred to be made the subject of description; but they

went into the sum of the life which is ended, and were as much a part, a beneficial part, of his career as the fiercer elements of public conflict.

As the years are counted he was young, but his lot fell at a time when the events crowded into the fifty-seven years which he lived made him an old man in experience. He was a veteran soldier of the civil war, a professor for many years in the second oldest college in our country, a successful practicing physician, a member of the general assembly of his State, and a Congressman at the time of our nation's war with Spain.

He has closed a life of remarkable activity, in which he displayed intellect, courage, honesty, frugality, and untiring industry and zeal for the things which he believed were right, which entitle his name and his example to live as a model for the youth who come after him, a blessing, a comfort to those who loved him.

RICHARD ALSOP WISE represented in this House of Congress the Second district of Virginia, made up of the counties of Charles City, Elizabeth City, Isle of Wight, James City, Nansemond, Norfolk, Princess Anne, Southampton, Surry, Warwick, and York, and the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Williamsburg, and Newport News. This includes the peninsula lying between the York and the James rivers, a territory rich in historical reminiscence as the theater of some of the greatest events in the history of the Republic.

Williamsburg, one of the ancient capitals of Virginia, rich in memories of colonial days and of the Revolutionary times, with a church built in the days of William and Mary, and around which may be found mural monuments commemorating the names of men and women who lived and died more than a century before this nation was born; where may be found the foundation stones of the building once occupied as the capitol of the colony of Virginia, where stood her house of burgesses, when George Washington and Patrick Henry were representatives, or delegates, and where the dignity of Washington and the patriotic and fervid oratory of Henry were seen and heard in the early days of American revolt against oppression and tyranny. Within 7 miles is Jamestown, the site of the first permanent settlement of Englishmen in America, and not far away historic Yorktown, the field where England's proud banner was lowered, her arms laid down, and her army surrendered to Lafayette and Washington.

And again in the civil war was this ground hallowed by the blood and sacrifice of those who struggled for the preservation of the Union, as well as those who fought, as they believed, for the honor of the South. And among these last mentioned, one was RICHARD A. WISE, who was a soldier in the army of the Confederacy. Over this peninsula marched and battled the armies of the contending forces, and made forever memorable the fields of Yorktown, Williamsburg, and Fair Oaks.

A year ago I visited the battlefield of Williamsburg with RICHARD A. WISE as my guide, and talked over with him the scenes and incidents of that hard-fought field, and I was deeply impressed with the rare powers of description and the fairness and intelligence of my guide, as he described the incidents of that struggle, standing on the very ground where the drama was enacted.

Not only here, but on many other occasions did Mr. WISE repeat to me the stories of his campaigns while a "rebel" soldier, and gave me the reasons which prompted him, the feelings which animated him, the sympathies and emotions which stirred his heroic young soul in those days of war and disaster for his native State. And then, when the sad and terrible conflict was over, he told me of the regeneration of his patriotism and the renewal of his loyalty to the flag of our great Republic.

In all these conversations he never spoke of his native State except in terms of love, or of his comrades save in language of tender remembrance. Surrounded by such memories and such scenes, Mr. WISE passed many years of active political effort, but they were years also of peaceful and lovely domestic life.

I close with reverence the perfumed leaves of his book of life and lay this poor tribute upon his bier, counting my brief acquaintance with this man among the choicest of my manhood experiences. It has taught me a lesson of forbearance and forgiveness toward those whom we have, some of us, long looked upon with almost irreconcilable partisan distrust, and led me to a more generous hope that in the fullness of time there will be real and lasting reconciliation between those who once contended in civil war, but who now, like RICHARD A. WISE in his lifetime, have laid away forever the bitterness and prejudice which the passing of the generation fully warrants.

Mr. LINNEY. Mr. Speaker, it has been said that man is man's best book, the last page whereof is written in death.

It is probably a recognition of this fact that makes the proceedings of this House, by which we attempt to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of those who served with us and have "passed over the river," so desirable to our constituents. I do



not know how it is with others, but I am often in receipt of letters from my constituents—from the most thoughtful, too, of them—asking me to furnish them the RECORD of the proceedings on a certain memorial occasion.

There they learn, Mr. Speaker, much in this greatest book. They learn of life, and they learn much of the sad hour of death.

In all ages it has been the case, and in times to come it will probably still be the case, that the matters of life and the still more solemn mysteries of death will always be a subject of inquiry to thoughtful people in all countries. The diversity of opinion touching this overshadowing question is greater than the diversity of opinion upon any other subject, on any other line of human thought, or in anything that challenges the attention and commands the efforts of men here upon the earth. Even, sir, in the fiercest conflicts—in the fierce conflict of opinion upon the rostrum; in the conflict of opinion here upon this floor and elsewhere; in the bitter conflicts which are fought upon matters not pertaining to the mysteries of life and death—the attention of mankind in every country is called to the fact that in the book of inspiration, luminous, life giving, and radiating as it is, the God of the universe was unable to make Himself thoroughly understood upon these wonderful mysteries which involve life and which terminate in death. Hence we see the different schools of theology and the different Christian organizations throughout the world.

It has been said by someone that life is a narrow pathway, a vale that lies between the tall and barren peaks of two eternities.

It was said by the great Cæsar that death is no punishment. Even in the trial of Catiline, Cæsar in the Roman senate moved the abolition of the death penalty. "Ah," says one, "there is a senator in sympathy with Catiline." "Not so," said the great Cæsar, "I move the abolition of the death penalty because death is no punishment. To die only lops off so many years of fearing death."

"We are after death as we were before birth." The greatest theologian I think I ever heard, Bishop Atkins, in speaking of life and the idea of immortality and the thoughts connected with it, opened the window in a lighted room and presented a photograph of a bird in its flight through an outer window, its fluttering rapidly to a point of escape. The only difference between the theologian and Cæsar was that Cæsar saw nothing beyond dissolution. Death terminated all with him. That was the finality. But the great bishop "saw an unending life of bliss and hope and happiness in the future." The most impressive definition of the terms "life and death" that I have seen recently is this: "Life is a complete circle, a continual sunrise, in which we behold the splendors of each new day; but finally there comes a time when man passes to the circumference of the earth's circle, when a shadow covers him, and he marches forth into the splendor of an eternal morning."

The immortal ancestor of Dr. WISE, of whose virtues we speak to-day, believed in this last definition I have given. He believed in the immortality of the soul, and expressed the hope of a realization of the eternal day of sunshine and joy, and upon his death-bed said to his sons: "My sons, in view of the great problems of life, let me say to you that success can only be attained by looking for the hardest knots in life and untying them if you can, always bearing in mind that the standard by which your conduct is to be controlled is measured by this interrogatory, 'Is it right?'"

Mr. Speaker, the late George Nathaniel Folk, of the North Carolina bar, was, in my opinion, one of the ablest lawyers of America. On one occasion his son George was talking to his father as to what he should select as the business of his life. "My son," said the great jurist, "look at my library. It is almost all I have. I want you to read law and follow it as a profession." "Not so," said George. "I can never hope to attain success in the profession until I shall have reached your professional excellence, and I can never hope to do that. Therefore I must select some other profession."

Truly, Mr. Speaker, greatness is as a mighty mountain, with a depression of progenitor on one side and of progeny on the other. Why? Because self-reliance, and self-reliance only, develops and strengthens human character. That is the rule. An idea struck me while the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. LAMB] was talking about the Confederate soldier. I want to add something to that. In the county in which I live I have never known a Confederate soldier to be indicted for a crime. Why? Notwithstanding the demoralizing influences of army life, the discipline of the army develops men. Look at your Senators from the South, your governors, your judges, your successful business men, those who stand out above all others, and as a rule, in spite of great disadvantages, such as lack of education, etc., you find that the men who are great and successful bear the wounds of strife—the cut of the sword or bayonet or the mark of the bullet.

The ancestor of Dr. WISE was, in my opinion, in many respects the greatest citizen of the State of Virginia; and when I say that

it is indeed a high standard. A photograph has been taken from the gallery of that distinguished fellow-citizen as he sat upon this floor at the age of 39. At the age of 39 Henry A. Wise, the ancestor of Dr. WISE, was regarded as one of the leading political orators of the country. In an article entitled "Glances at Congress" this photograph of his physical and intellectual existence is preserved:

His face is pale, and his white cravat adds to his appearance of livid pallor; but he has a dark and brilliant eye, a powerful feature in Mr. Wise, which seems sometimes to flash almost unearthly rays of light over his whole countenance.

All his prominent characteristics are brought out with great rapidity. Firmness, impetuosity, a disdain for honied words, fierce sarcasm, and invective, all gather into a hurricane and startle the drowsy members from the lounges and wake up those victims of dull hours, the reporters.

Mr. Speaker, Henry A. Wise, the ancestor of Dr. WISE, probably made the most of his reputation in the great campaign against Know-nothingism when he was running for governor.

I have met the Black Knight with his visor down, and his lance and spear are broken.

The use of this classic, to which he has given the force of a proverb, made the name of Henry A. Wise immortal. The oratory displayed by him in that campaign and the adroitness with which he managed the debate, as well as the courage he displayed in it, have probably never been equaled.

Great orations are generally short. Wise spoke for five hours, consuming all the time of a day and night session, upon the problem that property can never represent a vote in the State of Virginia. "I hold that the true element of representation in the legislature is the will of the people. Anything that belongs to man has no will and no right to vote." And during that period of five hours, the flashes of the immortal soul of the great orator which swept across his face, as described in that photograph taken from the gallery, held upon his words an audience the largest that ever up to that time had assembled in the State of Virginia, and the interest at the last hour of the five was greater than at the first.

He was indeed a very great man. How came the Wises to be so great? It is hard to tell. His son, Dr. WISE, as well as all of the line from 1636, the time of John Wise, the common ancestor of the family, all were great. It has been said by some theologians that with the first breath a man inhales he takes in some pre-existing spirit, which he transmits in death. Possibly, when the great original progenitor of the line drew his first breath, in the time of Henry VIII (Sir William Wise being knighted by Henry VIII because of his wit), he inhaled a spirit under some great Gibraltar of moral and intellectual excellence which has been transmitted from father to son. There was no depression of progenitor on the one side or of progeny on the other in the overtowering mountain fame of Henry A. Wise. All were great.

Dr. WISE was a student of William and Mary College. The usual course there between entrance and graduation was five years. After having attended there two years Dr. WISE went to the war, entering the Confederate army as a private, but coming out as an officer of distinction. William and Mary was the first seat of learning ever established in the United States except one, and that was Harvard. It had an endowment of £1,500,000 and 15,000 acres of land.

We know that a "professorship of law and police, one of anatomy, medicine, and chemistry, and one of modern languages were created."

Besides the preparatory department, known as the grammar and "Matty" school, founded by Mrs. Mary Whaley in 1742, the college has the following departments: 1, Latin; 2, Greek; 3, mathematics; 4, French; 5, German; 6, natural philosophy and mixed mathematics; 7, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, and physiology; 8, moral and intellectual science and belles-lettres. \* \* \* The institution was formerly under Episcopal control, but is now connected with no denomination. Benjamin S. Ewell, LL. D., was president of the college since 1854 for many years. Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, John Tyler, Chief Justice Marshall, Peyton Randolph, president of the first American Congress; John Randolph of Roanoke, and Winfield Scott were graduates of this college.

Dr. WISE, whose memory we are now commemorating, was a student of this college for two years, and such was the progress that he made, such the natural vigor of his intellect, that he was prepared to occupy an exalted position in his alma mater. He was appointed professor of chemistry and physiology in the college of William and Mary, and occupied that position for some time with entire satisfaction, we are told, to everybody.

Mr. Speaker, the most learned of all the professions is the medical profession. Dr. WISE succeeded in the practice of his profession; he not only succeeded in the practice of his profession, but such was his success, such his acknowledged learning in the most learned of all professions, that he was chosen by the authorities of the State of Virginia as physician for the insane asylum, which he held for a long period. That such a man should succeed in everything that he undertook, of course, is what is to be expected.

He finally entered into politics; and there is something remarkable about that—the charm of political life for men. He held an exalted position in this great college in which Washington was



once an officer, and Jefferson and Monroe and all the great treasured intellectualities of the great State of Virginia received their training. I say the fact that Dr. Wise should have attained to such eminence in that college was an honor far beyond anything that he ever could have obtained in political life. Still there is something of an exceptional charm about political life. The most intelligent men desire to occupy a position in political life as a matter of honor. Dr. Wise was not an exception to the rule. He entered the political arena and was able to measure with the foremost, with the greatest in the State of Virginia, where he entered into the field of politics.

I say it was with him the fiercest flame with which human intellect and human effort ever came in conflict. No doubt he hesitated an entrance upon this field; but once being in, he proved himself a master. He was with us a short time. I became somewhat intimately acquainted with him, and enjoyed his society because of his great big soul. His eyes, the windows of his immortal soul, told what he was. There is no depression upon either side of the mountain of human excellence built up by the greatness of Henry A. Wise in the progeny in this case. Under existing conditions, with the same environments, Dr. Wise would have measured well up with the greatest Virginian that lived since the birth of HENRY A. WISE. He had severe conflicts in his life. It was because of that very fact that he gave utterance to the somewhat melancholy remark here to myself and the gentleman from Alabama in this gloomy line of thought. Said he, "I shall not live long. I know enough about the diseases that make war on human vitality to know that this life with me is about ended. I do not care to fight the battle much longer. The struggle with me has been of such a character that I am almost weary of life."

Mr. Speaker, a truer, braver heart I never saw. I wish we had everything in his life, from the cradle to the grave, put upon record. It would constitute a book out of which the greatest Virginian, the greatest North Carolinian, the greatest American could draw lessons of wisdom and exalted patriotism that would enlarge his soul, make his life better, and probably increase his prospects for the joy of the eternal beyond.

Mr. RIXEY. Mr. Speaker, I first met my late colleague upon the assembling of the Fifty-fifth Congress. We were not thrown much together in the years that followed, and, while I was a member of the committee which attended his funeral in Richmond, it had not been my purpose, owing to my limited acquaintance with him, to offer any remarks to-day, preferring to leave that sad duty to those of my colleagues who were favored with a more intimate acquaintance. At a late hour, however, one of my colleagues has found himself unable, by reason of absence, to participate in these ceremonies.

I am fully conscious of my inability, under these circumstances, to speak of the life, character, and distinguished services of my late colleague as they deserve.

A Virginian by birth, he came of distinguished ancestry. His father, Henry A. Wise, was, as has been said, one of the most noted men the Old Dominion ever produced. For ten years a member of this House, he was nominated by President Tyler for the post of minister to France and resigned his seat in Congress in anticipation of a confirmation by the Senate. The Senate failed to confirm, and he was at once returned by his loyal constituents to the Congress from which he had resigned. Again nominated by President Tyler, this time as minister to Brazil, he was confirmed by the Senate. Resigning this position, after several years of service, he returned to his State, and taking an active part in politics was, in 1855, after an exciting contest in which the Know-Nothing party in Virginia received its deathblow, elected governor of his State. It was in the closing days of his administration that the John Brown raid, the precursor of the great war between the States, occurred.

Brave and chivalrous, warm in his friendships, uncompromising in his hatreds, his son, RICHARD ALSOP WISE, inherited these with many other traits of his noble father.

The political career of my late colleague was tempest tossed. Honored by his State, he filled many positions of high honor and trust; not always without criticism, for he had enemies, but always as an honorable man.

While not an orator, he was a leader. He could not and did not brook a divided leadership in his own political party. Hence it was that his bitterest antagonists were often to be found among those of his own party faith; but he never quailed or cowered before opposition within or without. He was easily the leader of his faction. No other name was suggested. War to the knife, and woe to the vanquished! No quarter asked and none given. Cant, hypocrisy, deceit, and treachery had his most unmitigated contempt and enmity.

Twice a member of this House, bitterly assailed within his own party, seated in each case after prolonged contests, in which all of the old political sores of his district were reopened; unassigned,

by reason of these contests, to any important committee, he had little opportunity to make an impression upon the House. Those, however, who knew him here, slight though it was, recognized in him the undying love and devotion to his friends, his country, and, above all, his native State. Peace to his ashes! buried, according to his desire, at the capital city of his State, in beautiful Hollywood, by the side of his honored father.

It is stated that when our late colleague left this Hall for the last time, he said to a friend, "I am going home to die;" and when asked if such feelings did not depress him, replied, "No; I am not afraid to die." Mr. Speaker, none but the brave can answer thus. Such is the spirit of those who can lay down their lives for their country or their faith.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. Speaker, we are gathered here to-day in the Chamber of the House of Representatives to pay tribute to the memory of RICHARD ALSOP WISE, a member of this Congress from the Second Virginia district until his death, which occurred at his home in Williamsburg, Va., on December 21, 1900, just prior to the dawn of this new century.

Mr. WISE was a Virginian of the Virginians. If you read the history of Virginia, you find that the history of Mr. WISE's family is so interwoven with it that it is difficult, ay, impossible, to separate the one from the other. The family tree, early planted in the colony, blossomed and bore historic fruit.

We find a governor, great statesmen, eminent divines, brave soldiers, learned lawyers, skillful doctors, and prominent men of affairs in each succeeding generation, all noted for their ability and standing in the various professions and callings with which they were identified. I do not intend to go into details about the ancestors or family of Mr. WISE, but to confine my remarks to the personal character of the man himself, whose death leaves an unfilled blank in this Chamber, in his Congressional district, and in his State.

Mr. WISE possessed in a marked degree the characteristics of his race. He was strong and tenacious in opinion, fixed in his ideals and purposes, yet kind-hearted, affable, and yielding in his relations with others.

He was born September 2, 1843, in Philadelphia, Pa., and his education was acquired in a private school, a university school, and at William and Mary College, which he quitted prior to graduation to enter the Confederate army. He remained in the service until the close of the war, and graduated in his chosen profession of medicine in 1867. He filled in succession many important positions of trust and responsibility, among them being the chair of chemistry and physiology in William and Mary College, and assistant physician of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, of which latter institution he became superintendent in 1882. He was elected to the Virginia legislature in 1885, in which he served three years, and subsequently to the clerkship of the circuit and county courts of his home city of Williamsburg and county of James City. He was elected to the Fifty-fifth and to the present Congresses.

His strength of character is shown by his life. He left his uncompleted studies to enter the army, convinced that it was his duty to his State and people. Completing his studies and becoming a physician, he devoted much of his time and energy to charity practice, and made it the rule of his life never to refuse to attend the sick, whether they could pay for his services or not.

After the war was over he became a Republican in politics, which, under his environments, was a step requiring the greatest strength and independence of mind and purpose.

Many of his neighbors, while not agreeing with his political views, still supported him in his Congressional races, knowing that he was conscientious in the change he had made. He was forced to submit his claims to membership in this House to be reviewed and passed upon by Congress, and was twice seated after making successful contests. He was the candidate of his party for a third time, and had he retained his health it is probable that the Fifty-seventh Congress would have heard his claims.

All these experiences show the firm and constant character of the man. He was unbending before opposition, unmindful of obstacles.

The House of Representatives is an exceedingly secular body. It is made up of Members and Delegates from all parts of our great country, and collectively represents nearly 80,000,000 of people. We assemble here to legislate for the material prosperity of the Union, to better the condition of its people, to establish legal barriers against disorder, to build walls of defense against unfair foreign competition, and in successful peace to prepare for, and thus avoid, destructive war. Each comes burdened with the industrial hopes and the commercial needs of his community, and when these are compounded 360 times it is not surprising that the secular relations of this world are placed far ahead of the spiritual relations of the world to come, and that our attention is called to the latter only when some member passes away. It is not that we are without religious convictions and aspirations, not that we are lacking in respect or knowledge of things divine. For have



we not the clear, eloquent voice of our blind Chaplain in his daily invocations, like the muezzin in the minaret, calling our thoughts from earthly to heavenly things? But the pressing needs of the secular quickly force a return to the nether world.

In my daily relations with many members of Congress for the last six years I do not remember to have heard questions of creed, of faith, or of dogma discussed. And so in my almost intimate acquaintance with Mr. WISE I do not know what his religious faith or convictions were, but I do know that he had no fear of death nor of the future—no desire to linger when he should be summoned hence. On one of the last days of his attendance here he said to me, in speaking of his health:

I am a physician. I know my condition. I have had my share in this world, and I am satisfied to go when my time comes.

A faith, in whatever language written, that so strengthens the soul as to bar fear and to prepare it to contentedly look forward to a flight from the known to the unknown, is a good faith and worthy to be perpetuated.

We have lately attended the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the assumption of the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States by John Marshall, and as stars differ in magnitude, but are similar in their orbits, so there are many points of comparison between these two eminent Virginians.

Both were soldiers; both were professional men; both were legislators, and both were Congressmen. One was born, the other buried, in Philadelphia. Both were elected to office because of their recognized integrity and lofty principles, and the memory of each is endeared to a large circle of friends and neighbors, relations, coworkers, and public officials.

As the memory of John Marshall irradiates his State and the nation, so does that of our departed friend shine in his home, in his Congressional district, and largely in his State.

It was my sad duty to attend, as a member of the Congressional committee, the funeral of RICHARD ALSOP WISE. We were present when his mortal remains were conveyed to his last resting place in a grave at the highest point of beautiful Hollywood Cemetery, on a bright Sunday morning, at Richmond, Va. Side by side with his father and other distinguished members of his family his body was laid. And so we, his friends, mourning his departure, place his memory on the highest plane and surround it with holly wreaths as tribute of friendship and affection.

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, death is certain, and frequently comes without warning. RICHARD A. WISE was not well, but was able to be out in town near his home. On the next day, however, he was cold and lifeless. Another pointed example of the uncertain tenure here and the swift transfer to the beyond. What is that future? Where shall it be spent? How little we know of what the individual is, or may be, who has crossed over the boundaries of life! If there is anything more cheering in the Christian religion than all else, it is the hope of an eternal, happy existence, where human ills are no more. That one of all others has the least of comfort, in contemplating the hereafter, who believes that death ends all, and that the body committed so tenderly to earth is all there is of the departed, and that soon it shall give way to the elements about it and be lost in the transformations of nature. There is joy in the thought of eternity. There is pleasure in the hope of immortality. There is something inspiring in the encouragement which Christianity gives that beyond death there is to be a useful, progressive, and happy life. I know but little of the religious convictions of Dr. WISE, but certain it is that he is gone, and nothing but religion gives hope for the future and lends encouragement to the thought of a meeting hereafter.

Dr. WISE served through the civil war as a Confederate soldier, and was at the close of that fearful conflict inspector-general of Wise's brigade, Army of Northern Virginia. Will it be said that less of praise shall be accorded his memory because he wore the gray? Will the Union veteran bend over the mound which marks his resting place in the beautiful cemetery at Richmond, Va., to inquire whether he fought with him or against him? Every American may well rejoice in the fact that the animosities which arose in the attempts at disunion are swallowed up in the delightful sentiment of reunion. The country builded by the fathers was rent in twain by war to settle great questions, but after the settlement it is bound together with the strongest ties to restore the Union, which was long ago declared to be "one and indissoluble."

Across the historic Potomac, at the Arlington Cemetery, where the nation's dead have been carefully buried, is found a beautiful example of the blending of the blue and the gray. In the midst of this cemetery, overlooking the city of Washington, on the principal elevation is preserved sacredly to-day the beautiful home of Gen. Robert E. Lee, and the stranger passing by admiring its beauty dare not injure it by so much as a pencil mark without penalty. Dr. WISE was amongst the vanquished in that conflict, but his life work is not dimmed nor his fame diminished by that association.

Personally I know but little of the life and character of the deceased, but at the request of the Speaker of this House I went as one of the Congressional escort to give to the deceased the last sad rites of burial. Surrounded by the graves of numerous relatives who had preceded him, his body was buried from human gaze, not far from the beautiful vault which contains the remains of President Monroe, near the grave of President Tyler, and in the cemetery where Jeff Davis, president of the Confederacy, lies buried. On the side of another hill, not far distant, is the last resting place of Chief Justice Marshall. What a historic home of the dead! What associations are blended there! What ruin time has wrought! How fitting are Shakespeare's words:

Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth  
And delves the parallels in beauty's brow;  
Feeds on the rareties of nature's truth,  
And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow.

Mr. LAMB. Mr. Speaker, there are other members who expected to speak on this occasion, but as the hour is late, they prefer to print their speeches in the RECORD without delivering them. I ask unanimous consent that all members desiring to print remarks in the RECORD in eulogy of our late colleague may have the privilege of doing so.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. As a further mark of respect to the memory of the two deceased members, in tribute to whom these proceedings have been held, the House, pursuant to its resolution, stands adjourned until Monday next at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the conclusions of fact and law in the French spoliation cases of the schooner *Abigail*, John Perkins, master, against the United States—to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the conclusions of fact and law in the French spoliation cases of the schooner *Four Sisters*, Timothy Wellman, master, against the United States—to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers relating to disallowances in the accounts of Maj. E. H. Ruffner—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions of the following titles were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several Calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. DICK, from the special committee to investigate hazing at Westpoint, reported a bill (H. R. 14127) to aid in the preservation and enforcement of discipline at the United States Military Academy at Westpoint, in the State of New York, accompanied by a report (No. 2768); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. OVERSTREET, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 5346) making provision for the employment of clerical assistance in the district of Alaska, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2769); which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. PEARRE, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 13866) to provide for the proceedings for admission to the Government Hospital for the Insane in the District of Columbia in certain cases, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2770); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. WANGER, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 5014) to authorize the Fourth Pool Connecting Railroad Company to construct and maintain a bridge across the Monongahela River, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2771); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HEATWOLE, from the Committee on Printing, to which was referred the concurrent resolution of the Senate (S. C. Res. 52) to print and bind 8,000 extra copies of the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, reported the same without



amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2777); which said concurrent resolution and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the concurrent resolution of the Senate (S. C. Res. 72) to print 3,000 copies of special expert reports on the Columbian Exposition, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 2778); which said concurrent resolution and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DICK, from the special committee to investigate hazing at Westpoint: A bill (H. R. 14127) to aid in the preservation and enforcement of discipline at the United States Military Academy at Westpoint, in the State of New York—to the House Calendar.

By Mr. STALLINGS: A bill (H. R. 14128) to authorize the Montgomery and Autauga Bridge Company to construct a bridge across the Alabama River near the city of Montgomery, Ala.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BABCOCK: A bill (H. R. 14129) to require cases of typhoid fever occurring in the District of Columbia to be reported to the health department of said District—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SMALL: A bill (H. R. 14130) to prohibit the sale or manufacture of distilled spirits, fermented liquors or wines, under the authority of the United States, in States where the same is prohibited by the laws of said States—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANDELL: A bill (H. R. 14131) regulating the trial of actions at law in the circuit court of the United States for the western district of Louisiana—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIDGELY: A bill (H. R. 14132) to provide freedom of local legislation to municipalities in the Territories of the United States—to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 14142) relating to postal affairs—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. CURTIS: A resolution (H. Res. 412) to retain the messenger in charge of the heavy mail wagon—to the Committee on Accounts.

By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the council of Arizona, asking statehood—to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. YOUNG: A memorial of the legislature of Pennsylvania, regarding the election of United States Senators by popular vote—to the Committee on the Election of President, Vice-President, and Members of Congress.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BANKHEAD: A bill (H. R. 14133) for the relief of Dora Terrell—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BOREING: A bill (H. R. 14134) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Blankenship—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CONNELL: A bill (H. R. 14135) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Patrick F. McDermott—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GILLET of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 14136) granting an increase of pension to William Butler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MARSH: A bill (H. R. 14137) for the relief of Eliphet Hickman—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MORRIS: A bill (H. R. 14138) to authorize the Pigeon River Improvement, Slide, and Boom Company, of Minnesota, to enter upon the Grand Portage Indian Reservation, and improve the Pigeon River in said State at what is known as the Cascades of said river—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. OTJEN: A bill (H. R. 14139) for the relief of Harry L. Kellogg and John O. Carlys—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of North Carolina: A bill (H. R. 14140) for the relief of Calvin G. Perkins—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14141) for the relief of the estate of George S. De Bruhl, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RICHARDSON of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 14143) for the relief of the trustees of the Primitive Baptist Church (colored), at Huntsville, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SPARKMAN: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 302) for relief of P. J. McMahon—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MANN: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 303) awarding medals of honor to Capt. Francis Tuttle, Lieuts. David H. Jarvis, Ellsworth P. Bertholf, and Dr. Samuel J. Call, officers of the Revenue-Cutter Service, for able and gallant services in the overland expedition to Point Barrow, Arctic Ocean, for relief of imperiled whalers—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 304) to correct the military record of Silas D. Baldwin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BARHAM: Petition of citizens of Napa, Cal., in favor of an amendment to the Constitution against polygamy—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of citizens of Napa, Cal., for construction of dam across Gila River, San Carlos, Ariz., for purposes of irrigation for Pima Reservation—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BOREING: Petition of Nancy Blankenship, of Crocus, Ky., to accompany House bill granting her a pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROMWELL: Petition of Thomas P. Egan and other citizens of Cincinnati, Ohio, indorsing Senate bill No. 5518, for a forest reserve—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BULL: Petition of West Kingston (R. I.) Grange, No. 10, Patrons of Husbandry, for the distribution of Farmers' Bulletin to persons whose names are on the mailing list of agricultural experiment stations—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CALDERHEAD: Petition of Federal suffrage committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for protection in the exercise of the right of suffrage—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAPRON: Petition of West Greenwich Grange, No. 10, Patrons of Husbandry, of Rhode Island, for the distribution of farmers' bulletins to persons whose names are on the mailing list of agricultural experiment stations—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DALZELL: Resolution of Presbytery of Pittsburg, Pa., representing 22,000 communicants, and others, in behalf of the Gillett bill—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts: Abstract of proceedings of meeting of the National Board of Trade, relating to legislation on various subjects—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GAMBLE: Resolutions of the Commercial Club, of Sturgis, S. Dak., favoring an appropriation for reservoirs for the reclamation of the arid lands in the Western States—to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, resolutions of the city council of Canton, S. Dak., favoring an appropriation for the storage of water at the headwaters of the Big Sioux River in South Dakota—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. GROSVENOR: Petition of the internal-revenue gaugers, storekeepers, etc., of the Eleventh collection district of Ohio, for sufficient appropriation to provide for their vacation without loss of pay—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HENRY of Connecticut: Petition of internal-revenue gaugers and storekeepers of collection district of Connecticut and Rhode Island, asking for vacations—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HITT: Petition of S. R. Myers and 48 others, as a committee of the Presbyterian Church of Elizabeth, Ill., favoring the exclusion of alcoholic liquor from Africa and all countries inhabited chiefly by native races—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. JACK: Petition of citizens of Martintown and vicinity and Saltsburg, Pa., favoring the exclusion of alcoholic liquor from countries inhabited chiefly by native races—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. PAYNE: Petition of citizens of Naples, N. Y., against the parcels-post system—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. MANN: Petition of Edward T. Cushing, for separate letting of contracts on public buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, papers to accompany joint resolution to correct the military record of Silas D. Baldwin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MERCER: Resolutions of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, at Omaha, Nebr., in behalf of the Gillett bill—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Also, resolutions of Nebraska Beet Sugar Association with reference to tariff laws—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MONDELL (by request): Petition of Sarah C. Bennett



and Martha E. Root in behalf of Federal suffrage committee of the National American Women Suffrage Association—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'GRADY: Petition of Presbyterian churches of Rochester, N. Y., favoring anti-polygamy amendment to the Constitution—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OTEY: Petition of citizens, banks, and corporations of South Boston, Va., favoring the repeal of stamp tax on checks and drafts and reduction of tax on banking capital—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN of New York: Petition of Robert L. Fryer and H. H. Persons, bankers, of Buffalo, N. Y., against taxing bank capital, and against stamp tax on bank checks—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Hall & Ruckel, druggists, of New York City, for the repeal of the tax under Schedule B of the war-revenue act—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SULZER: Resolutions of the executive committee of the New York Mercantile Exchange, favoring extension of the pneumatic-tube service in connection with the Post-Office Department—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. THOMAS of North Carolina: Papers relating to the claim of Calvin I. De Bruhl, of Jones County, N. C.—to the Committee on War Claims.

## SENATE.

MONDAY, February 11, 1901.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last was read and approved.

### CLAIMS OF LETTER CARRIERS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Attorney-General, transmitting, in further response to a resolution of December 18, 1899, a list showing the amounts which have been reported by the commissioner of the Court of Claims, or found by the court, representing services actually performed by letter carriers in excess of eight hours per day under the act of May 24, 1888, entitled "An act to limit the hours that letter carriers in cities shall be employed per day," but which have been excluded or excepted from judgment for the sole reason that the same were barred by the statutes of limitation.

Mr. WARREN. I ask whether the communication pertains to a bill which is now pending before the Committee on Claims? I have no objection to its going to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, but if it pertains to that particular bill I think it would be more fitting to have it referred to the Committee on Claims.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It contains a list showing amounts which have been reported by the commissioner of the Court of Claims. Perhaps it ought to go to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WARREN. Unless there is some request made from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Claims.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is none. The communication will be printed and referred to the Committee on Claims.

### CREDENTIALS.

Mr. TURLEY presented the credentials of Edward W. Carmack, chosen by the legislature of the State of Tennessee a Senator from that State for the term beginning March 4, 1901; which were read, and ordered to be filed.

Mr. TELLER presented the credentials of Thomas M. Patterson, chosen by the legislature of the State of Colorado a Senator from that State for the term beginning March 4, 1901; which were read, and ordered to be filed.

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolutions; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 4345) to create a new Federal judicial district in Pennsylvania, to be called the middle district;

A bill (H. R. 13635) authorizing the construction of a bridge across Little River, at or near mouth of Big Lake, State of Arkansas;

A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 285) providing for the printing annually of the Report on Field Operations of the Division of Soils, Department of Agriculture; and

A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 292) providing for reprint of

Bulletin No. 80, entitled "The Agricultural Experiment Stations of the United States."

The message also announced that the House had passed the concurrent resolutions of the Senate to print 7,000 copies of the document known as "The Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States;" to print and bind 500 copies of the work entitled "The History and Growth of the United States Census;" to print 6,000 copies extra of the eulogies upon the late Hon. Cushman K. Davis, late a Senator from the State of Minnesota, and to print 10,000 copies of the report of the Commission to the Philippine Islands, transmitted by the President on January 25, 1901.

The message further announced that the House had passed with amendments the concurrent resolution providing for the printing of 8,500 copies of the list of maps relating to America, now in the Library of Congress; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed with amendments the concurrent resolution providing for the printing of 7,000 copies of the annual report of the Major-General Commanding the Army for 1899; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print extra copies of the report of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print 4,000 extra copies of the atlas of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga battlefields, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print 6,000 copies of Bulletin No. 86 of the Department of Agriculture, on "The Use of Water in Irrigation;" in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print and bind, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, 12,000 copies of the records, briefs, and arguments of counsel in sundry cases of the October term, 1900, in the Supreme Court of the United States, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print and bind in cloth 3,000 copies of a Congressional register, embracing the biographies of all members of Congress to the Fifty-seventh Congress, inclusive, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print 14,000 copies of the reports on Alaska, now in preparation by the Geological Survey, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print 1,500 additional copies of the report of the dedication of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution to print 5,000 copies of the report of the investigations of the agricultural resources and capabilities of the Hawaiian Islands, etc.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House commemorative of the life and public services of Hon. Richard A. Wise, late a Representative from the State of Virginia.

The message also transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House commemorative of the life and public services of Hon. William D. Daly, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey.

### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 3369) to put in force in the Indian Territory certain provisions of the laws of Arkansas relating to corporations, and to make said provisions applicable to said Territory, and it was thereupon signed by the President pro tempore.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair presents a memorial from the legislature of the State of Wisconsin, favoring the enactment of the so-called Grout bill, to regulate the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine. It will be printed in the RECORD, and as the bill has been reported to the Senate, the memorial will lie on the table.

The memorial was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### MEMORIAL.

To the Senate:

Memorial to the Senate of the United States in regard to the manufacture and sale of counterfeit butter, and requesting the passage of the Grout bill, H. R. No. 3717.